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Moscow glad of the chance to play the injured party



A member of a Greens delegation in Moscow was asked what he thought of Chancellor Kohl's *Newsweek* interview in which he compared the public-relations abilities of Gorbachov with Goebbels.

It was not for the Greens, Germany's ecological, anti-nuclear party, to apologise for the Chancellor abroad, he said.

But he and his fellow-delegates were regarded by the Russians as being part of the collective responsibility for the comments. This became clear both when the delegation went to President Gromyko's official residence and to the Foreign Ministry.

The Soviets regard the Goebbels comparison as an insult — personally, factually and in terms of timing.

This sense of insult is evidently nowhere more keenly felt than among the Kremlin leader's close associates, who are bound to feel their entire reform programme has been misinterpreted and disparaged.

The sting has dug deep, of that there can be no doubt — which isn't to say that just outrage cannot serve as a political ploy.

The harm to German-Soviet relations is perceptible; it is also calculated. As the insulted party Mr Gorbachov retains the initiative in being able to decide when to get his own back.

This is indicated for one by the media response. To this day the Soviet public has yet to learn from radio, TV or the press what an untoward comparison the German Chancellor drew.

Official circles hint that the purpose of this reticence is to prevent an upsurge of popular anger.

This argument may sound far-fetched from the Western point of view, but in fact it is reasonable to assume that the Soviet public, systematically taught to remember an event of such ideological importance as the Great Patriotic War, need no reminding who Goebbels was.

They are taught at school and in books and films just how barbaric and brutal the Nazis were.

So historical comparisons can do nothing but damage, and fences can be mended as long as the Soviet media are instructed not to quote the Chancellor's fateful comparison.

In the only official statement issued so far, made by Mr Shevardnadze at a press conference and clearly based on a prepared text, criticism of Herr Kohl was preceded by a mention of the usefulness of contacts with the German people and their political and economic representatives.

The Chancellor was firmly expecting Mr Gorbachov to visit Bonn next year. Whether it was a realistic expectation is now an issue of merely academic importance.

Mr Gorbachov has almost demonstratively avoided any mention of Bonn. To this day he has not even been prepared to confirm that he has been invited to visit the Federal Republic.

Chancellor Kohl's Bonn coalition of Christian and Free Democrats was first felt to be a mere episode, but Soviet views changed as it seemed increasingly likely to survive.

Since June Moscow has begun to prepare for the government of Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher being re-elected for a further four-year term next January.

The outward sign of these preparations was Herr Genscher's visit to the Soviet capital and the signing of a framework agreement on scientific and technological cooperation.

Herr Genscher handed the Soviet leader a message from the Chancellor, but Mr Gorbachov did not respond.

It is hard to say just why. The irritation may have begun on his visit to Moscow for Mr Chernenko's funeral when the Chancellor was clearly considered less important than Mrs Thatcher and M. Mitterrand as representatives of nuclear powers.

Herr Kohl spent a long evening waiting in a Moscow restaurant, only to learn that he was not to be allowed to express his condolences in person until the following morning.

His appearance at rallies held by exile organisations in Germany was considered to be proof enough of his revanchist views. His difficulties with the Silesian exiles association were not thought to be worth further scrutiny.

In the eyes of Soviet propagandists, the Chancellor is neither a Rhineland-Palatinate liberal nor an aide counselling moderation in international disputes but a representative of the right wing.

Few distinctions are drawn between Helmut Kohl, Franz Josef Strauss and Alfred Dregger.

So Soviet commentators had little difficulty criticising him even without going into detail about the Newsweek interview. He was criticised over his Washington visit and the subsequent debate about his government's statement.

Herr Kohl was not only branded the model pupil of the Reagan administration and the first Western leader to visit the Star Wars President after Reykjavik, but also accused of doing nothing but echoing Reagan's views.

The political background of this campaign is an attempt to portray West Germany as a mere US satellite and that therefore talks with its sovereign statesmen are hardly worthwhile. This line is surely more than the opinion of a handful of commentators.

In Soviet eyes, not much will be sacrificed by breaking off top-level contacts — unless the impression is gained at some stage that Germany's weight in the Western alliance is so great that keeping political lines open cannot be left solely to the Soviet ambassador in Bonn, Mr Kvitsinsky.

Otherwise, trade ties are retained and they, far from being damaged, may even increase.

The exchange of views and preparation of agreements at the economic level have never for a moment been called into question.

Few gifts of prophecy are needed to forecast that the agreement on scientific and technological cooperation that was to have been signed with Research and Technology Minister Heinz Riesenhuber will be signed at the next convenient opportunity.

The Soviet Union wants access to Germany's nuclear know-how. West Germany's importance as an economic power is undisputed in the Soviet central committee. So there is a firm foundation for business.

Hans-Joachim Deckert
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 21 November 1986)



Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (centre) in Washington with President Reagan (left) and Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger. (Photo: dpa)

Bonn's Defence Minister in Washington

DIE WELT

Since the Reykjavik summit there have been more consultations between Americans and Europeans than for a long time. And all have centred on the one topic:

How is the aim of a substantial reduction in strategic and semi-strategic nuclear weapons as envisaged by President Reagan to be reconciled with European security interests?

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner's Washington visit helped to clarify matters.

For one, American pressure for military denuclearisation has tended to make European members of Nato close ranks.

The Europeans took the opportunity of redefining their security interests at the Luxembourg meeting of the Western European Union.

They didn't find it very difficult to agree that nuclear disarmament, especially in respect of longer-range intermediate missiles, could only be acceptable subject to a number of provisos.

They include US readiness, in the event of a "zero option" for longer-range intermediate nuclear forces (LRINF), meaning Pershing 2s, to follow up an LRINF arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union by immediate negotiations on limitation of shorter-range intermediate nuclear forces (SRINF). America must also be prepared to lend a hand, by all conceivable

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

PERSPECTIVE Page 6
Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt writes on Europe and the world

BUSINESS Page 7
Lack of ideas and determination sealed fate of motorcycle maker

FILMS Page 10
Hitler and the men who ran Germany's chemicals industry

BEHAVIOUR Page 14
A city's Angel of Mercy gives new hope to the homeless

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The Gulf war goes on and on and on as the arms flow in and in and in

Half a million Iraqis and 800,000 Iranians have died so far in the seven-year Gulf War, and the number of war-wounded runs into seven figures.

The Gulf War is partly kept going by arms imports, with suppliers — manufacturers or dealers — ranging from Argentina to Cyprus.

East and West, not to mention neutrals such as Austria, Sweden and Switzerland, are well represented and, in some cases, earning handsome profits from arms shipments.

Iraq's main suppliers are the Soviet Union and, for equipment incorporating the latest in advanced technology, France.

Moscow has delivered thousands of tanks, armoured cars and field guns to Iraq since the early 1970s, plus combat aircraft, helicopters, SAM anti-aircraft missiles, anti-aircraft guns, missile speed boats and landing craft.

When the Soviet Union, surprised by the outbreak of war and doubtless hoping for a while to gain a foothold in Iran too, created difficulties, other suppliers stepped into the breach.

Egypt has extensive stocks of Soviet arms, imitations of which are made in China and Yugoslavia.

So both spares and ammunition were available from alternative sources.

From 1978 Baghdad also ordered several billion dollars worth of combat aircraft, helicopters and missiles from France.

Jeeps and trucks were supplied by Britain and Germany.

About 2,000 tanks were bought from Brazil and four frigates from Italy.

The Soviet Union resumed deliveries in 1982, including MiG-23 and MiG-25 planes and main battle helicopters.

Bills are footed mainly by the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia.

Iraq is reportedly about $50bn in debt, of which France is owed over $10bn.

Iran is mainly equipped with Western arms.

Aircraft and artillery weapons are from America, tanks from Britain.

The Shah invested his petrodollars in a gigantic and ultra-modern arsenal of Western armoury.

The Iranian air force flew F4 Phantom jets and F5 fighter-bombers.

Best available

The best interceptor aircraft available, 78 US Navy versions of the F14, were purchased.

Iran's Hercules transport planes were also US-made, while American Cobra helicopters are reported to have proved most effective in knocking out Iraqi tanks.

Standard field artillery is also US-made, to Nato standards, as are some of Iran's tanks.

Britain supplied 760 Chieftain tanks and four frigates.

Twelve speed boats were bought in France.

After the Iranian occupation of the US embassy in Tehran in 1979 Washington imposed an arms embargo,

Frankfurter Allgemeine

since when most Iranian aircraft have been going to rack and ruin.

Even countries in a position, by virtue of licence agreements, to supply at least spare parts for US weapon systems, such as Spain, South Korea and Taiwan, seem to have preferred not to do so.

To this day Iran is prepared to pay international arms dealers a heavy premium on the black market for supplies of spare parts.

The Iranians are occasionally able to get about 10 per cent of their 500 planes airborne.

The situation is much the same for helicopters.

So the US embargo has worked surprisingly well, and America insisted on it being upheld even when, as is now clear, it was prepared to strike a deal — so as not to jeopardise its negotiating position with Tehran.

The Iranians have accordingly sought other suppliers, buying weapon systems from East Bloc and Third World countries.

Of the latter, Argentina and Brazil in particular supply arms in bulk.

There are hundreds of Brazilian battle tanks and armoured patrol cars in both Iraq and Iran.

The same is true of Soviet and Chinese tanks and field guns.

Moscow is happy to allow its allies, especially Czechoslovakia and Hungary, to take the lead, while manufacturers in the West — in Britain and Belgium, for instance, — have long supplied spare parts and conversion kits for Soviet arms and equipment.

Spares supplied include new engines, guns and fire control equipment.

Britain claims to pursue restrictive policies, permitting only the export of non-lethal material, but spare parts and replacement engines for Chieftain tanks and landing craft seem to come in this category. Israel is likely to have supplied Tehran with material taken from the Palestinians.

It certainly admits, off the record, that weakening Iraq is in its interest.

Israel also seems on frequent occasions to have helped out with spare parts and electronic components of its own manufacture, but it denies having breached licence agreements with the United States.

Austria supplies artillery, mortars and ammunition. Sweden supplies anti-aircraft missiles and electronic components.

North Korea has supplied tanks and hundreds of field guns and mortars.

China now seems keen to corner a larger slice of the cake.

Hopes of doing business seem to be the main motive for many countries.

Others, such as Libya and Syria, are motivated mainly by considerations of ideology and power politics.

Syria, for instance, is on hostile terms with Iraq. Soviet Frog missiles frequently aimed at Baghdad have been traced back to Libya.

Moscow is likely to have been most embarrassed by this state of affairs, but Soviet influence on Colonel Gaddafi is clearly not strong enough to prevent the Libyan leader from passing weapons on.

Procurement of vehicles, jeeps, trucks and ammunition has never presented problems.

Austria, Sweden, France (in particular), Pakistan and Turkey are suppliers. So are Israel, South Africa and Spain.

A number of states seem likely to have sold off outdated stock for hard cash.

Danish trade unionists recently revealed that Danish vessels had been used to clandestinely ship at least five shiploads of ammunition from Israel to Iran.

Problems arise when Tehran is unable to pay, which was the case with a consignment of 200,000 Spanish grenades, whereupon Madrid cancelled the new order for a further 300,000.

Officially the grenades were bound for Syria, but Syria has no 155mm field guns, only Soviet artillery of a different calibre.

Just for geology

Spain has also supplied Iraq direct — with 44 Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm helicopters manufactured under licence by a Spanish government-owned company.

The 'copters were officially *sold to* Baghdad for geological prospecting.

At times supplies of identical equipment to both sides can have grotesque results.

An East German works, for instance, supplies both Iran and Iraq with a small four-wheel drive truck.

Convoys of trucks from both countries have been known to line up at the works entrance to collect spare parts, axles and new engines.

Police took extra precautions in case of trouble between Iranian and Iraqi truck drivers. There was none.

Drivers first slept side by side in their cabs, then drove back simultaneously overland.

Siegfried Thielbeer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 November 1986)

Wörner in Washington

Continued from page 1

arms limitation — or indeed deployment — measures, and help to ease the burden of what, for Europe, was a dangerous imbalance in conventional potential with the Soviet Union.

For another, the United States has not shown impatience or displeasure with these European demands.

President Reagan does not feel upset by querulous Europeans in his vision of a world free from nuclear weapons.

He not only welcomed Mrs Thatcher to hear her voice her urgent desire to see European conditions given a hearing; he even found time to see the German Defence Minister, which in protocol terms was a most unusual gesture.

This conciliatory behaviour toward America's European allies must not be allowed to distract attention from the extremely risky course arms control policy seems to be taking in Washington.

The crucial issue remains that of how closely the United States proposes to link an LRINF zero option with proposed reductions in SRINF and even conventional Soviet superiority.

Herr Wörner says he was told by Secretary of State Shultz the United States was prepared to include in the terms of a disarmament agreement covering all medium-range missiles in Europe ceilings for SRINF and negotiations on a reduction in the number of weapons in this category.

What, one wonders, might that mean for European security?

Assuming agreement were reached on scrapping all Soviet SS-20 missiles aimed at targets in Europe and the corresponding destruction of American Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, Nato would at one fell swoop forfeit a crucial category of weapon systems.

It would lose the systems specially introduced, albeit via the Nato dual-track decision, to maintain Western flexibility and the threat from European territory to what would otherwise be the sanctuary of Soviet soil.

Nato would then no longer possess a weapons category clearly testifying, from the Soviet viewpoint, to the coupling of Europe's security with America's own.

The Soviet Union could also agree to negotiations on SRINF limitation without hindrance to its policy of pressure and intimidation on Western Europe.

It could rely on the tried and trusted policy of playing for time and keeping alive Western European hopes that SRINF reduction was possible.

It could be years before the Western Europeans were forced to realise that their hopes were in vain.

Will they and the United States jointly summon the strength to reaffirm and exercise their right, incoporated in the zero option agreement, to match the Soviet shorter-range nuclear weapons with new missiles of their own in Western Europe?

Even if they were to succeed in doing so in the face of opposition by a remobilised "peace movement," what would they have accomplished? The new weapons would still not be able to reach targets in the Soviet Union.

From the Soviet viewpoint risk assessment would even be a little less complicated.

By the same token Moscow could drag its feet on reductions of its superiority in conventional forces. The West would be unable to offer the Soviet Union serious disarmament incentives.

For Nato a "package solution" is the only possible way out of this dilemma. Yet Nato governments will hear nothing of the idea.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, Bonn, 20 November 1986)

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■ TERRORISM

Jordanians on bomb charges had links with Syrian intelligence, court told

A Jordanian being tried on terror-bomb charges in West Berlin has accused the authorities of maltreating him. They used voices to bend his will, he said in a spectacular outburst from inside a specially built glass cage inside the courtroom.

Ahmed Hasi, 35, is one of two Jordanians on trial for a bomb attack on the Berlin-based German-Arab-Society in March this year.

At first, he sat quietly listening to his co-defendant, Farouk Salameh, 40, read his statement. But when he was asked to speak, events took a dramatic turn.

Hasi jumped up, clung to the bars of the cage and started shouting and complaining in a mixture of Arabic and broken German about how he had been maltreated since his arrest.

He claimed that the six months in solitary confinement had almost made him suicidal.

The way this democratic society had treated him, he said, was inhuman.

In order to paralyse his brain, Hasi continued, voices had been sent into his cell to bend his will — a method often employed by the secret service.

"The Western world should understand our cause . . . We are a part of our Arab people," he shouted to the courtroom, making a V-for-victory sign.

35-year-old Hasi, who had made an extensive confession of the crime before the trial, suddenly seemed convinced of his innocence.

He then admitted, however, that he did carry out the bomb attack on the German-Arab Society in the Berlin district of Kreuzberg.

Hasi and 40-year-old Salameh first met in a Berlin prison in 1979, where Salameh was serving a sentence for a drug offence and Hasi for threatening to kill his girlfriend with a knife.

After the two Jordanians had admitted to having links with Syrian intelligence, special precautions were taken to ensure that the trial could take place in Berlin.

During the trial the streets near the court were cordoned off, the police patrolled the area with dogs, and the nearby streets were declared a no stopping zone.

People entering the courtroom were frisked twice and one British cameraman claimed that these tight controls were "more thorough than those carried out by East German border guards".

The man behind the Berlin bomb attack was 38-year-old Jordanian Nesar Hindawi, who was sentenced to 45 years imprisonment by the Old Bailey in London on 24 October for his unsuccessful bid to blow up a jumbo jet belonging to the Israeli airline, El Al.

On 17 March this year Hindawi tried to smuggle a plastic bomb on board the aircraft with its 400 passengers with the help of his unsuspecting and pregnant girlfriend.

The bomb was detected on time and the blast prevented.

Nesar Hindawi claimed that the attack was planned on the instructions of the Syrian intelligence service.

His liaison officer, said Hindawi, was lieutenant-colonel Haitham Said, the deputy head of the intelligence service of the Syrian air force.

After the Syrian connection became clear during the course of Hindawi's trial in London Britain, the USA and Canada withdrew their diplomats from the Syrian capital Damascus.

Syria, however, claims to have nothing to do with the attack on the El Al airliner nor on the German-Arab Society in Berlin.

Ahmed Hasi and Farouk Salameh told the public prosecutors in Berlin that Nesar Hindawi had asked them to join his "Jordanian Revolutionary Army".

Hindawi, they said, was spurred on by a fanatic hatred against Israel, the USA and Jordan's King Hussein.

In summer 1985 Hasi and Salameh travelled to Libya for "ideological training", which apparently consisted mainly of watching video films of speeches by Libya's leader, Moamar al Gaddafi.

The training Hasi and Salameh were given in Damascus at a later stage on the instructions of the intelligence service officer Said was of a more practical nature, including how to handle suitcase bombs.

At the beginning of 1986 Hasi and Salameh visited the German-Arab Society in Berlin, which is housed in the first floor of a twelve-storey building in Berlin-Kreuzberg.

This organisation was set up in 1985 to foster and improve Arab-German relations.

The Society's rooms in Berlin provide a meeting place for many Arabs.

Nesar Hindawi and Ahmed Hasi are reputed to have tried to solicit the support of the chairman of the German-Arab society, which acknowledges Israel's right to exist, for radical Palestinian groups.

After this attempt failed Hindawi accused the Society of having connections



with the Israeli intelligence service and planned the bomb attack as a kind of punishment.

Hindawi allegedly ordered his brother Ahmed Hasi from London to travel to East Berlin and pick up the bomb in the Syrian embassy.

He was asked to get in touch with Abu Ahmed using the codeword Fahdi.

In their statements Hasi and Salameh claimed that Ahmed turned out to be an officer of the secret service, whose acquaintance they had previously made in Damascus.

Following instructions Hasi drove to East Berlin using a tourist visa, but when Ahmed gave him the bomb he felt watched and decided to deposit the bomb in a left-luggage locker at the East Berlin railway station.

The bomb was then later handed over at a motorway service station between Berlin and Magdeburg.

The bomb attack was supposed to have been carried out before 29 March, but the bomb's detonator failed to function on two occasions.

An expert from East Berlin had to come over to adjust the detonating mechanism.

The 5-kilogram bomb was placed near the entrance door of the German-Arab Society at 20.45 on 29 March.

Twenty minutes later the bomb exploded, seriously injuring two people and slightly injuring five.

The damage to property was valued at roughly DM500,000.

During the trial in Berlin Farouk Salameh said that the bomb had been positioned in such a way as to ensure that people would not be harmed.

Hasi claims that he did not know whether Arabs were in the Society's rooms when the bomb exploded.

The main aim of the bomb attack was to get publicity and demonstrate the strength of the Hindawi group.

This, for example, is why Hasi had to travel to Libya and Syria to show that Hindawi had a terrorist group.

Salameh's statements on why he stayed in Damascus at the end of last year and how he was trained to handle bombs are riddled with contradictions.

As opposed to previous statements, he only confirmed that he received some kind of operating instructions in Damascus to hand over to Hasi.

Hasi was also less talkative during the trial than in statements he had made during his detention while awaiting trial.

He did not say where he got the bomb from.

This is an aspect which not only interests West Berlin's counter-intelligence service but also western intelligence services.

Suspicion has existed for some time now that Arab terrorists enter the Federal Republic of Germany via the German-German border in Berlin.

The western allied powers, however, are decidedly against round-the-clock border checks inside Berlin.

Checks were stepped up following the bomb attack on the Berlin discotheque "La Belle", especially at underground and suburban-line railway stations in West Berlin.

One of the key aspects of this trial for the Bonn government and the allies is whether conclusive evidence can be found for the fact that the bomb came from the Syrian embassy in East Berlin.

If the two defendants stick to their statements the Berlin trial, which is scheduled to last three days — the final date being 24 November — could also have diplomatic implications.

Ahmed Hasi was initially arrested in connection with the bomb attack on the "La Belle" discotheque following a tip-off from London.

Three people died following this attack and over 200 were seriously injured.

When confronted with Hasi face to face many of the guests in the disco, which was frequented by American soldiers, stated that they had seen Hasi there one day before the bomb blast.

Police investigations, however, proved unsuccessful.

Ahmed Hasi and Farouk Salameh emphatically deny that they had anything to do with the attack on the disco.

This bombing is unlikely to be dealt with in this particular trial.

According to rumours circulating among public prosecutors investigations on the disco bombing are likely to be dropped in the near future.

Marianne Heuwagen

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 18 November 1986)

Concerted action remains an elusive goal

Western politicians are never at a loss for strong words to publicly condemn international terrorism. It is easy for them all to be unanimous and throw words at bomb attacks, assassinations or hostage taking.

But that unanimity crumbles when action is needed. Britain found this out when it called for joint action against Damascus after proof of Syrian involvement in terrorism.

In spring this year the USA also stood alone following its punitive air raids on Libya.

The West has long since disagreed about what to do about Iran, whose ayatollahs are known to back several Arab terrorist groups.

No-one denies the challenge presented by a proliferation of international terror. But there is little agreement on what to do.

Admittedly, it is not easy to commit governments with varying and often contrary political interests to a common line.

However, it is becoming more and more clear that there is even a big discrepancy between public rhetoric and concrete politics within individual countries.

After Paris, for example, was shaken by a series of bomb attacks the head of the French government, Jacques Chirac, declared war on the terrorists.

In reality, however, these attacks were followed by deals behind the scenes between France and Syria's head of state, Hafiz Al-Assad, to engineer the release of French hostages held in Lebanon.

President Reagan has never grown weary during his presidency of denouncing the leader of the Iranian revolution, Ayattolah Khomeini.

But he consented to a secret deal with the hated ayatollah to get the release of Americans held hostage by pro-Shiite Arabs.

Terror would seem to pay off in the political jungle of the Middle East.

They know how to use violence: against rivals in their own camp; against Israel; and to force other countries, especially in the West, to meet their demands.

This cynical strategy only then stands a chance of success if the countries in question are regarded as being of key importance.

The USA, for example, found it relatively easy to take even military action against Colonel Gaddafi, who is generally isolated from other Arab leaders.

What is more, this attack certainly had the desired effect.

Gaddafi was neither hailed as martyr of the Arab camp nor did he succumb to the temptation of stepping up terror in response to the US air raid.

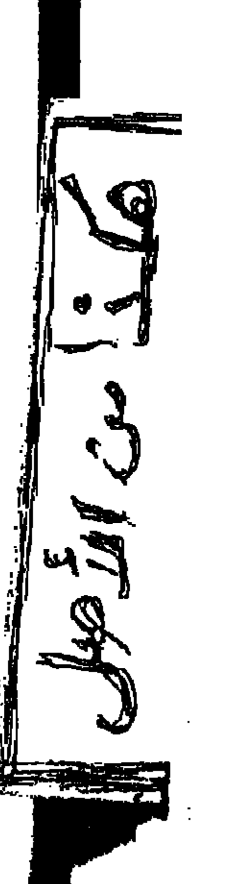
A comparatively lenient approach is adopted, on the other hand, in the case of Assad and Khomeini, even though the evidence of their involvement in international terrorism is by no means less conclusive than in the case of Gaddafi.

In fact, quite the opposite it true.

However, to set one's sights on Syria or Iran involves considerable political risks.

Assad is the closest ally of the Soviet

Continued on page 4



■ DEVELOPMENT AID

A quiet birthday party for the quiet ministry

Some ministries in Bonn are barely known outside the corridors of power. Their ministers get little recognition from either political friends or foes.

The Ministry of Education and Science is one (most education issues are handled by the *Länder*). Another is the Ministry for Economic Cooperation. It is called the "Development Aid Ministry" by most people. Few know its proper name and even fewer its commonly used abbreviation, BMZ.

Three quarters of the West German population by and large approves of development aid, but it is an area without big issues.

With this backdrop, it is hardly surprising that the ministry's 25th birthday party this month (it was founded on 14 November, 1961) was quiet.

But that date did not mark the start of West German development aid. It began in 1952 when, three years before the still-young republic got full foreign-policy sovereignty through the Bonn Convention, it gave money to a United Nations project to provide economic aid to Third World countries.

In 1956 the Bonn Foreign Office received a special fund worth DM50m, earmarked for bilateral projects between Bonn and what were then known as the "underdeveloped countries".

But the allocation of these funds was not easy. There was a lack of experts and action plans in the ministries and not much on the way of development policy ideas.

The result was that by 1958 only DM6m had been handed out.

Interministerial coordination difficulties, especially between the Foreign Office, the Economics Ministry and the



Food Ministry, were a major argument for the setting up of the Ministry for Economic Cooperation in 1961.

The first minister, Walter Scheel *(FDP), took office 10 days later in what* was still a very makeshift affair.

he ministry was housed in a hut in the courtyard of the Bonn Finance Ministry, had only 12 staff members apart from the minister himself, and did not even have a telex machine.

By the end of January 1962, its powers were more clearly defined and the ministry took over the running and chairmanship of the Interministerial Committee for Development Aid which had existed since 1960.

During the years which followed 158 permanent posts were created for the *ministry and its various departments* were united in one building after it moved to the Kaiserstrasse.

Nevertheless, Bonn's development policy was still marked by fragmented ministerial responsiblities.

According to a report by the Federal Audit Office in 1963, 231 sections in 16 Ministries dealt with development policy matters.

The allocation of capital aid was still de facto determined by the Economics Ministry.

After the FDP pulled out of its government coalition with the CDU/CSU, Walter Scheel, stepped down from office, on 28 October, 1966.

Following Werner Dollinger's (CSU) brief period in office Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski (SPD) took over as Minister for Economic Cooperation on 1 December, 1966, the start of the Grand Coalition.

Under his ministership the Bundesstelle für Entwicklungshilfe (Federal Agency for Development Aid) was set up.

Together with the Deutsche Förderungsgesellschaft für Entwicklungsländer *this agency, which was subordinate* to the ministry, assumed responsiblity for the actual implementation of development policy projects.

After two years, Wischnewski resigned to become the business manager of the SPD.

He was a Third World expert, but was not minister long enough to be able to develop a comprehensive policy.

His successor, Erhard Eppler, was more fortunate. Three years after he became minister the SPD/FDP government adopted the first German development policy manifesto.

It *emphasised the fight against unemployment* in the recipient countries via labour-intensive projects in the agricultural sector, infrastructure and in industry.

This was the official go-ahead for many large-scale projects, many of which ended up in ruins because initial groundwork in recipient countries was badly done.

When Eppler was minister, development policy became much more liberal than during the 1960s. Aid was, for example, also given to countries which did not align themselves politically with the West.

Eppler was the first minister in BMZ to resign after a dispute with the Chancellor.

He objected to reduced funds in the wake of the austerity policy of Finance Minister Hans Apel and resigned in July 1974.

The Federal Audit Office had repeatedly criticised the disbursement practice of the BMZ during previous years.

Egon Bahr took over and *remained* until 1976. He was succeeded by the luckless Marie Schlei, who stayed until 1978.

The last SPD Minister was Rainer Offergeld, who began work there on 16 January, 1978.

During his period in office there was a shift in the allocation of financial and technical aid to the poorest sections of the population and the to the least developed of the developing countries (the LDCs).

The concept of satisfying basic needs first found its expression in the "Development *Policy Guidelines*" drawn up in 1980.

These guidelines also stressed the fight against famine, for a minimum of human rights and for a modest improvement of the financial situation of people in the Third World.

Since 4 October, 1982, the Ministry for Economic Cooperation has been headed by Jürgen Warnke (CSU).

He also emphasises the aspects of food security and rural development but also adds the need for greater environmental protection to the list of *priority* needs.

The general awareness of the need for efforts to stop environmental pollution in developing countries too is relatively new.

Warnke claims to have "de-ideologised" development aid and "rid it of its bad conscience".

His critics, however, maintain that there has never before been such a party-politically biased and *ideologised* development policy in Bonn.

Uwe Holtz (SPD), for example, claims that Warnke has tried to propagate the market economy system as the panacea for all problems via his policy of "political dialogue".

At the same time, says Holtz, Warnke has turned the BMZ into an agency for the promotion of West German export interests.

This controversy together with the growing disillusionment over the chances development *policies have of* being successful has revived a more fundamental dispute about the BMZ and its policies.

Kurt Kister

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 March 1986)

Continued from page 3

Union in this crisis-ridden region. Furthermore, a solution to the problems facing the Middle East is inconceivable without Syria's participation.

Syria's significance makes restraint a must, even if the disappointment and dismay at the terrorist crimes possibly perpetrated with Syria's backing.

Iran is in a very similar position.

No matter how much the West disapproves of Shiite fundamentalism, no matter how much the export of revolutionary ideals resorts to terror, the West still has a fundemantal interest in sustaining diplomatic contacts with the ayatollahs.

This is the only way of exerting an influence on the Iranian regime.

The fact that Ronald Reagan was willing to accept an arms-for-hostages deal is a sign of his sense of realism.

The same basic stance prompted him *to seek* contact with Mikhail Gorbachov, even though he once referred to the Soviet Union as the realm of evil.

Although moral principles are often entreatied they are bound to be secondary in the case of Assad and Khomeini.

Both are too powerful to be simply ostracised by the international community.

A willingness to negotiate even with those governments which encourage and support terrorism in an effort to save human lives is also a sign of a sense of morality in this context.

However, both Paris and Washington must realise that the release of hostages on the basis of such "business deals" almost automatically produces the next kidnapping drama.

Both the USA and France have more or less admitted vis-à-vis Iran and Syria that they can be blackmailed.

For power-political and humanitarian reasons, however, there would appear to be no alternative to this policy.

At the same time, there is little cause for jubilation regardless of how happy the American and French hostages may be about their release.

Blackmail of this kind looks like become "presentable", not because western politics has failed but because it is confronted by a dilemma. For no remedy has yet been found against terrorism backed by the state.

Joachim Worthmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 November 1986)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Both sides of the divide would benefit from a more assertive Western Europe

This article was written for *Die Zeit* by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who is a senior editorial member of the paper's staff. The second part will appear next week.

It took the 20th century's two world wars to impress on Europeans the unity, over and above national diversity, of *their culture, their values and their history.*

Many Europeans feel European self-assertion is much more urgent today than it was in 1945, and more urgently needed than after Soviet intervention in the GDR in 1953, in Hungary in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

In 1945 those of us who care about the basic value of freedom of the individual, which took historic shape in Europe, — and the values of democracy to which it gave rise — set out to establish a bulwark against the irresistible westward advance of the all-powerful state and the hegemony of the Russo-Soviet ideology of communism.

But in 1953, 1956 and 1968 we Europeans were teeth-gnashingly forced to realise that we were unable, without running the risk of a world war, to effectively challenge the rape of neighbouring European nations.

Thereafter, from the late 1960s until well into the second half of the *1970s*, most people in both Eastern and Western Europe based their hopes on a balance of power between East and West, envisaged in terms of arms limitation agreements and treaties renouncing the use of force.

They expected a resulting relaxation of tension in the wake of which they hoped to resume growing cultural, economic and political ties between Europeans on both sides.

These expectations were, to begin with, fulfilled, albeit hesitantly. But they were then dealt a painful damper by the hegemonial claims relaid by the USSR in Afghanistan in 1979 and in Poland in 1981.

As the US leadership abandoned its policy of detente too, a new situation dawned on Europeans, with the military hegemonial power of Russia facing the leading Western power, America, on a bipolar basis and neither paying much heed to its allies.

In both parts of Europe the political leadership of the two superpowers has faced growing mistrust since the beginning of the 1980s.

Reykjavik increased this alarm, with neither superpower creating the impression of pursuing a deliberate strategy and neither leader seeming to have mentioned European interests.

The Reykjavik meeting highlighted both the possible advantages and, more clearly still, the grave risks inherent in short-winded personal summit negotiations for which there have been no careful advance preparations by diplomats.

The *so-called* experts in Washington, Moscow, Brussels and Bonn have since soon set about dismantling, or hedging with illusory provisos, some of the far-reaching agreements the two leaders surprisingly mapped out in the Icelandic capital.

It was a mistake on Mr Gorbachov's part to want to take Mr Reagan by surprise with a comprehensive package of proposals.

The US President's mistake was to promptly take him up on the offer, without pausing for thought and without consulting his allies.

An even graver mistake was the impression President Reagan conveyed of viewing any kind of progress on arms limitation as less important than swift implementation of SDI, his *idée fixe*.

On SDI both sides suppressed important facts. Moscow made two points: that SDI couldn't possibly work and that it mustn't be allowed to happen.

In point of fact Moscow has been researching and developing comparable weapons systems for 25 years.

In 1972, when SDI still went by the name of ABM, both Mr Brezhnev and President Nixon well knew that neither could ever push the other into a corner again.

The Soviet Union has never yet had to accept a Western military-technical advantage for longer than three or four years. Aircraft carriers merely appeared to disprove this point, Moscow first having to build up a sizable fleet of its own.

At *times the Russians have even had* the edge. The T 34 was more than a match for Hitler's tanks. The Sputnik led the world. So, arguably, do Soviet laser weapons today.

Failing reciprocal treaty commitments to arms limitation, Mr Gorbachov will simply go ahead with a Soviet SDI, calling on Soviet citizens to make extra economic sacrifices if need be.

Yet he is not admitting anything of the kind. If he did the effective accusations he has levelled at President Reagan on TV would forfeit part of their credibility.

Mr Reagan's experts are well aware of this fact, but the President is not letting on, as otherwise his utopia of final, comprehensive protection for the American people would forfeit part of its credibility.

Both leaders have long known that SDI or ABM can at best provide protection for a few areas, as the aggressor could at no great expense double and redouble the

DIE ZEIT

number of warheads in his strategic missiles and, by saturation, potentially overtax the complicated and extremely expensive SDI systems.

Both sides already have tens of thousands of nuclear warheads stockpiled.

The economic sacrifices required would be enormous. The United States invests between six and seven per cent of GNP a year in military spending, the Soviet Union between 12 and 14 per cent.

Mr Gorbachov would prefer not to have to set aside for the military an even larger share of Soviet productive capacity.

In Washington there are, in contrast, some officials who hope to wage a war of economic attrition they are convinced America could win.

In fact Mr Reagan has far overtaxed America's savings and capital commitment potential since 1982 with his budget deficits.

In 1982 the United States needed no net capital inflow from abroad to finance domestic borrowing requirements. Today *well over $100bn a year comes from* the rest of the world.

America's foreign debt is increasing fast, and with it the risk of fresh dollar inflation.

President Reagan will leave his country at least $500bn in debt. This burden could even jeopardise the dollar's status as an international reserve currency.

If Washington seriously intends taking up economic cudgels with the Soviet Union there will be no alternative to a drastic increase in taxation. In point of fact the administration's intention is unclear.

Those who have read David Stockman's unashamedly indiscreet book about his years in President Reagan's White House will not need to exert themselves intellectually to imagine what state arms control strategy is in.

A variety of groups are strenuously engaged in fighting each other. So America is largely negotiating with itself, while the President's brilliant TV performances maintain the administration's credibility with viewers.

Mr Gorbachov is an equally brilliant TV performer. He is the first Soviet leader since Lenin to personally speak with effect to the Russian general public.

In the process he carefully takes his effect in Europe, East and West, into account.

Like Mr Reagan, he has his domestic difficulties. For many reasons his economic reform is making slow headway. He has yet to mobilise any of the resources so far used by the military.

But his breathtaking Reykjavik proposals would probably trigger objections from the powerful Soviet military-industrial complex if they were to be accepted by America to any great extent. Mr Gorbachov is unlikely yet to enjoy a clear majority.

The talks abandoned in anger (on both sides) in Reykjavik and the breakdown of subsequent talks between Mr Shultz and Mr Shevardnadze in Vienna can (still) be made good.

But if they are, the governments of Western Europe will need to articulate the interests of the Old World now, and to do so intelligently, powerfully and in public.

What American viewers fail to see on TV exerts little or no influence on President Reagan. European newspapers, with the exception of the *Financial Times* and *The Economist*, and European parliamentary debates are paid little or no *attention in Washington.*

The interests of non-nuclear states in Western Europe in no way categorically differ from those of nuclear have-nots in Eastern Europe. They are:

First: arms limitation to stabilise armaments at a rough balance.

Second: total elimination of, above all, Eurostrategic nuclear weapons (INF, or medium-range missiles), as envisaged by both sides in Reykjavik, accompanied by a freeze in stocks of short-range nuclear weapons and a joint declaration of intent to negotiate soon on their reduction in number.

Third: pressure on both sides to abide by the provisions of the ABM Treaty and to limit their SDI programmes accordingly.

Fourth: approximate numerical parity in conventional forces in Eastern and Western Europe.

Inasmuch as the superpowers succeed *in making* at least part of their respective territory invulnerable to attack by the other side's nuclear missiles (and that is a moot point and likely to remain one for many years to come), the relative vulnerability of all European territory, East or West, would further increase.

Strategic defence against medium- or short-range nuclear weapons stationed in Europe and aimed at European targets is technically inconceivable.

That is why a new SDI or ABM arms race would run counter to the vital interests of all Europeans.

Mr Reagan's SDI option will only be a negotiating card he can play for as long as Mr Gorbachov has *not drawn* level.

But Western European influence on US strategy has long ceased to be strong enough to incorporate SDI in a wide-ranging concept for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

President Reagan failed to consult his European allies prior to Reykjavik, mere*ly briefing them afterwards.*

There can be no question of Western Europe asserting its interests on its own. Paris, London, Rome and Bonn lack the means of arriving at a joint viewpoint for one. They also lack courage.

European Defence Ministers as a body tend to brake arms limitation talks. Their views mainly coincide with those of Nato's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe — and he is an American.

For the states of Eastern Europe there has seldom since the Second World War been an opportunity of self-assertion for strategic interests of their own. Eastern Europe has constantly been subjected to Soviet hegemony.

This applies to economic structure, monetary, finance and trade policies.

By means of the treaty provisions of the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (Comecon) they form part of a network of strictly bilateral trade agreements, *with fixed prices and strict bilateral* balancing of trade accounts, to the Soviet Union's advantage.

There is no common market in goods *or products within Comecon. There is not* even a joint and multilateral account currency. There is certainly no such thing as a common finance market.

The benefits of a conceivable system of sharing out investment and production between Comecon countries in relation to comparative cost are unknown in the East Bloc and therefore go unused.

The relative small proportion of Eastern European countries' trade with the West and with the rest of the world provides small and limited emergency valves.

Moscow takes good care to ensure that these valves are not in a position to assume strategic economic significance.

Yet indirectly Eastern Europe derived definite benefit from the decade of treaties and detente negotiated by the Soviet *Union and the Atlantic alliance from the* late-1960s to the late-1970s.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), at which all European states except Albania were represented in Helsinki in 1975, was the climax of the detente era.

Helsinki provided the countries of Eastern Europe with an opportunity of making a public appearance on their own behalves and of giving expression, cautious and only verbal maybe, to their own interest in arms limitation and economic cooperation.

The Helsinki review conferences since held in Madrid, Stockholm and Vienna have become largely entangled in the bureaucratic, diplomatic undergrowth.

The decline in Mr Brezhnev's leadership, which grew steadily more apparent from 1978, and the subsequent cataract of gerontocracy in Moscow (Andropov and Chernenko) did not improve the Eastern European countries' chances of asserting their own interests.

Helmut Schmidt

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 21 November 1986)

Continued next week

■ THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The bad-boys subsidy club: Germany is now a member, just like the others

It isn't every day of the week that European competition policy hits the headlines and is brought to the attention of a wider public. Yet in recent weeks this has twice happened.

First, views differed at the European Commission in Brussels on the intensity and methods of controls laid down in the Treaty of Rome on government grants and other subsidies tending to distort competition.

Second, Baden-Württemberg's "infrastructure support" for a new Daimler-Benz car factory created an uproar leading to an official investigation by the Commission.

Germany being directly concerned in the Daimler-Benz case ought not to be the sole ground for economic policymakers in Bonn and Stuttgart to take a closer look at the fundamentals involved in the Brussels subsidies debate.

German policymakers in particular need hardly make themselves out to be pragmatists who have suddenly decided, in view of short-term labour market considerations, not to be too fussy about competition policy.

Competition rules were incorporated in the Treaty of Rome at their insistence nearly 30 years ago, and they — the Germans — have repeatedly stressed the harmful nature of European subsidies practices.

For years it was mainly the others who distorted competition by often being over-generous in handing out government grants, whereas the Germans liked to see themselves as models of economic propriety.

We must now accept that we have become as bad as the others and are no holier than anyone else.

German transgressions include Baden-Württemberg's grant offer to Daimler-Benz, largesse that would in all probability have been unnecessary.

The European Commission has also taken Bavaria to court over regional grants and banned certain grants in North Rhine-Westphalia (a ban that has yet to take effect).

There is no mistaking the evidence which seems to indicate that Germany today has let standards slip in enforcing European Community regulations on competition.

It is difficult enough at national level to keep the government out of business involvement and to dispense the blessings of subsidies in none but exceptional and justified circumstances.

In the wider European market of the Twelve this task resembles the labour of Hercules as he struggled to vanquish the Hydra, with two heads growing for every one he severed.

In other words, hardly has the Brussels competition directorate, headed by keen Irish commissioner Peter Sutherland, warded off one bid to hand out subsidies in breach of Common Market regulations but further applications are submitted for consideration.

The Commission has been virtually snowed under with grant applications of late, due mainly to high unemployment and failure to complete the task of structural adjustment.

It is as though it were for the state, and not the market, to safeguard jobs and supervise structural change. Some mistaken assumption seem simply ineradicable.



It is high time Europeans came to appreciate the gist of government grant provisions in Articles 92-94 of the Treaty of Rome, which is that subsidies distorting competition by favouring specific companies or industries are banned as a matter of principle.

Exceptions are only allowed in specific and strictly limited circumstances.

Regional development grants are permitted as long as they help to bridge the gap between regions, but too much of a good thing can run counter to the best of intentions, the Commission rightly feels, Southern Italy being an example that should serve as a warning.

Regional subsidies that amount to much more than aid to enable new business to get going tends to become habit-forming and can lead to outright corruption.

That the rules governing payment of subsidies amount to restrictions, and restrictions felt to be painful by those affected, as all regulations on competition are, no longer seems to be universally accepted even in the Commission.

President Jacques Delors and a number of leading Eurocrats feel the Commission ought to offset its negative image by showing greater generosity in interpreting competition and grant regulations.

They seem to have espoused the argument put forward by industrial policymakers who claim that in view of unsolved structural problems and increasingly fierce competition between leading industrial countries the state is duty-bound to lend companies and industries support — a kind of covering fire, as it were.

Constructive, not restrictive, implementation of competitive regulations is arguably what is called for, and the Commission must figure not as a penny-pinching accounts clerk but as a forward-looking creator of a new industrial society.

Germans ought to be most keenly aware of the mistakes that can be made in "forward-looking industrial policy." Sad to say, the Daimler-Benz case is grist to the mill of industrial policymakers at the Commission.

In France, Italy and elsewhere there are others who are delighted with Stuttgart for planning to shell out millions in subsidies to Daimler-Benz, a carmaker in peak financial condition and one of the most competitive in the world.

They feel they now have the long-awaited excuse for following suit. If the Germans are subsidising one of their best-known firms, the French have little choice but to subsidise Renault and the Italians to subsidise Iveco and Alfa Romeo, they can now argue.

German Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann can clamour as vociferously as he likes in Brussels for a strict check to be kept on grants, but cases such as Daimler-Benz make a mockery of such strictures.

Besides, regional development programmes jointly administered by the Federal and *Land* governments now cover two thirds of the country.

It is time the Germans recalled the part of their European principles that has paid compound dividends over the past 30 years: the European Community's role as an open door spreading their model of a free-market economy.

The free flow of goods, services and ideas from which Germany has benefited more than any other Common Market country can only flourish if competition is distorted to the least possible extent.

Yet Europe is steadily severing its ties with this powerhouse of prosperity as the race for subsidies between member-countries increasingly restricts free competition between industrial locations.

This is competition of an undesirable kind. It calls full implementation of the European common domestic market into question and makes everyone poorer, not richer.

The further course of European integration was surely not envisaged as an assembly of incapacitated subsidy recipients gathered under the blue, star-spangled banner of the European Community.

Peter Hort

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 November 1986)

Assembly shows how to seize the initiative

Those who feel only people who exercise direct power can be taken seriously in politics often view the European Parliament with nothing but derision and contempt.

True, the Strasbourg assembly lacks the legislative powers of national parliaments.

But MEPs — members of the European Parliament — can keep an eye on other institutions, publicise issues, draw attention to weak links in European policies, grasp the initiative and lend impetus in a way neither the European Commission in Brussels nor the governments of member-countries can ignore.

The European Parliament has now made use of this right and seized the initiative in a sector where Europe has marked time for years: social, or welfare policy.

The European Commission has not made sufficiently energetic use of its right of proposal. Member-countries have similarly failed to make headway in the Council of Ministers.

The European Parliament has now approved by a substantial majority eight resolutions on European welfare policy. All are aimed at a single target: the creation of a European welfare sector in the war on unemployment and poverty in Europe.

No-one can doubt the need for action. By 1992, the 12 heads of government have decided; the European Community is to be transformed into a full-scale common market.

This European domestic market unquestionably presupposes harmonisation and standardisation of welfare provisions, the social preconditions of employment and the costs they entail.

Nearly all parties in the Strasbourg assembly were agreed that the domestic market and a European welfare sector were two sides of the same coin.

With a fine disregard for a number of controversial points the eight resolutions were approved by an overwhelming parliamentary majority extending from the Christian Democrats via the Socialists to the Italian Communists.

They called in unison for a social dialogue as a kind of concerted action at the European level.

Welfare policy and social security systems were a legacy of European history and thus contributed toward Europe's common identity — unlike social conditions in the United States and Japan, which were totally different and by no means exemplary from a European point of view.

This advantage, this edge over the rest of the world, must be defended, MEPs felt.

In his report on the part played by the social partners (organised labour and employers) in the labour market, Italian Communist Andrea Raggio, while calling for social dialogue, stressed that "in the final analysis the maintenance of living stands in Europe and support for the disadvantaged depend on a prosperous and competitive European economy."

Economic efficiency and social progress were not mutually contradictory. Quite the reverse. The European Parliament feels a sensible social policy would make Europe more competitive.

Development of relations between the social partners and participation of workers in industry were essential prerequisites if the labour market was to be made more efficient and more flexible.

More extensive partnership in European industry was wholeheartedly to be endorsed, particularly in the context of introducing new technologies.

Information, consultation and contractual negotiations on technological innovation were indispensable. Efficient management decisions and changes within companies were no longer possible without staff participation.

Although they admitted that the preconditions for wage talks covering the entire European Community did not yet exist, MEPs favoured efforts in this direction.

Trade union rights and freedoms must be ensured throughout Europe.

Standardisation of European social provisions right down to the smallest detail was by no means necessary. It would be enough for objectives to be jointly defined, framework agreements to be drawn up and European minimum standards to be agreed.

MEPs called on employers and employees to show greater flexibility. That would help, to a limited extent, to reduce unemployment.

A controversial decision finally given majority approval in Strasbourg was the recommendation to introduce a standard minimum wage throughout Europe.

Minimum salaries were another matter and merely mentioned.

At all events something must, MEPs agreed, be done soon to fight poverty in Europe and not just to finance welfare schemes (which was growing steadily more difficult).

European Community statistics list 30 million people as living below the poverty line in the 12 member-countries.

Thomas Gack

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 November 1986)

■ BUSINESS

Lack of ideas and determination sealed fate of motorcycle maker

SONNTAGSBLATT

In the late 1920s, the name "Zündapp" was one to be relied on, advertising reassured a generation of Germans.

"Zündapp zuverlassig" was the slogan of Europe's largest and most modern motorcycle maker.

It isn't any more. The Munich works was shut down in 1984 and shipped, lock, stock and barrel to China. The assembly line went with the stock and the know-how.

The firm's 67 years is a tale of engineering history and of an era. It has now been recorded in an exhibition at the Berlin Museum of Transport and Technology.

Two years ago, Zündapp had 11,000 unsold motorcycles, it was DM35 million in debt and its owner, Dieter Neumeyer, was no longer interested in keeping the family firm in business.

The news that it was to close upset people all over Germany, and not just because 730 would lose their jobs — most of them with long service.

Neumeyer retired with property worth millions plus his racing stables. He resisted all rescue bids.

This was possible because Zündapp had been divided into two companies. The rich one owned the property and the poor one owned the manufacturing side and merely leased the property. The staff worked for the poor company. It was the end of the road for a highly skilled works whose machines ironically in that final year of production, won the world grand prix championship in the 80 cc class.

No one wanted to take over the works as it was. Then a Chinese pushbike maker moved in and bought the lot for a bargain of DM15 million.

More than 1,200 items of machinery were shipped out to China, together with fixtures, fittings and stock, to Tianjin on the trans-Siberian railway.

The Xun Da motorcycle has been coming off the assembly line since September. K 80 mopeds are being produced in red, grey, blue and white in the new three-storey plant. Production is to be boosted to 100,000 a year.

The museum in Berlin bought 80 machines from the company when it closed. Exhibits include the post-war Bella scooter, the Janus bubble car and the KS 750 motorcycle and sidecar combination.

There are brochures and balance sheets, blueprints and advertising films and archive photos of trophies.

Some of the documents were salvaged at the last minute from rubbish dumps and bins. They include the original contract between Zündapp and Ferdinand Porsche for the construction of what went on to become the Volkswagen Beetle.

In 1931, Zündapp made for Porsche the first three Volkswagen prototypes. They bore a striking resemblance to the car that was later to come off the assembly lines at Wolfsburg. Their engine was at the rear, the spare wheel was at the front and the body was streamlined. In the 1950s there were more than a dozen motorcycle makers in Germany. Zündapp was the third to close in recent years. It followed Kreidler and Maico. Now the only survivors are Hercules in Nuremberg, BMW in West Berlin and MZ in Zschopau, East Germany.

How to make a Xun Da out of Zündapp

(Photo: Wolfgang Steche/Visum)

Neither Hercules nor BMW is doing too well, but they have parent companies keeping them going. Reputation and tradition are not helping any more. The motorbike is no longer a money spinner.

This was the sad fact of life for Zündapp, which won a host awards and competitive titles for its machines: 12,000 including 45 European and world championship titles.

But the debts piled up. It became too much for the Neumeyers. Two years ago the banks foreclosed. They wanted to see profits, not racing trophies.

What came as a stroke of luck for the Chinese, rummaging in the bargain basement of Western technology, and for the Berlin museum, keen to collect anything to do with transport history, was not in fact the first time Zündapp called in the receiver.

It folded in 1958 after running up heavy losses with the Janus, a distinctive two-seater bubble car with the driver facing forward and the passenger facing backward, hence the name.

It brought Zündapp no luck. The Nuremberg works had to be shut down to salvage at least the Munich works, originally set up to manufacture sewing machines as a post-war sideline.

The company managed to slip its neck out of the financial noose for a while by rationalising to the hilt and concentrating on the 50-cc engine category.

Throughout the 1960s and well into the 1970s Zündapp held on to its market share, which in 1975 was still 15 per cent.

But more and more cut-price bikes were imported from the Far East, Japan in particular.

Like rabbits mesmerised by a snake, Zündapp sales strategists seemed unable to cope with the competition. Instead of launching a counter-offensive they looked on helplessly.

They complained about Japanese "dumping prices," lamented about plummeting birth rates due to the Pill and blamed new driving licence regulations, higher insurance premiums for mopeds and the Bonn government's failure to stem the tide of imports by erecting trade barriers.

Declining birth rates, the economic recession and high unemployment among the young might have been taken as strong hints to diversify.

Zündapp did diversify, starting in 1971 to manufacture lawnmowers and outboard motors, but only half-heartedly. They were soon dropped.

A steady stream of new complaints apart, little changed. New colour schemes were virtually the only difference between one Zündapp model and the next.

Generations seemed to lie between the smart new Japanese bikes and stick-in-the-mud old Zündapps about as streamlined as biscuit tins.

And when the Easy Rider generation was ready to move up-market and clamoured for more powerful bikes, Dieter Neumeyer of Zündapp kept strictly to engines the size of schnapps glasses.

The third-generation Neumeyer failed to come up with the needed new strategy. The firm had always managed this in the past. After the First World War, for instance, it needed something to take over from munitions.

Trials of half a dozen lines, from typewriters to machinery for the Pforzheim jewellery industry, were followed by the two-wheeler breakthrough, the Z 22 "motorcycle for the masses."

It was a departure for Zündapp, who boldly challenged leading motorcycle manufacturers such as Wanderer and NSU — with success.

Zündapp zuverlässig!" was an advertising slogan that was long to stress the Zündapp's reputation for reliability. In 1928 the firm built in Nuremberg what was then the largest and most up-to-date motorcycle factory in Europe.

When Nuremberg capitulated to the Allies at the end of the Second World War, on Hitler's birthday of all days, the Zündapp works was reduced to rubble.

Yet management and staff grasped the initiative and set about the task of reconstruction despite the threat of production facilities being dismantled and the constant problem of supply bottlenecks.

In a matter of months Zündapp switched from war production of Wehrmacht bikes and anti-tank shells to peacetime manufacture of an entirely new range of products that saved the firm's bacon yet again.

The new breadwinners were mainly milling machinery and sewing machines.

The second generation of Neumeyers was clearly no less keen than the first to roll up its sleeves and start again from scratch. Not so the third.

The last Neumeyer at the helm was happy to retire with property worth millions.In the year the firm finally closed he stubbornly resisted all rescue bids.

He was able to survive unscathed because Zündapp had been split in 1981 into two companies. One was rich and owned the property. The other was as poor as a church mouse and owned the manufacturing side, renting the property

Continued on page 14

■ PEOPLE IN BUSINESS

A senior woman executive hands out some tips

How can women's opportunities in trade and industry be improved? What special problems do women face as managers or running their own businesses? The European Women's Management Development Network (EWDN) congress in Hamburg set out to provide some answers. The chairwomen of the German Association of Businesswomen, Dr Anne-Rose Iber-Schade, says here in an interview with *Die Welt* that more and more women are reaching managerial positions. Dr Iber-Schade, 63, is a lawyer and for 26 years was an executive in Wilhelm Schade KG, a supplier to the automobile industry. She is a member of several trade and industry associations and is a member of the Monopolies Commission.

Every third new business is set up by a woman. One reason,says Dr. Iber-Schade, is that in the executive suites, women are still regarded somewhat cynically.

Women are better educated than they were only between three and five per cent of middle-management jobs are filled by women. Even fewer are at top management level.

So, more and more are becoming self-employed as they see no hope of getting to the top in major companies.

And, says Dr. Iber-Schade, it has become apparent that these companies set up by women are far more successful than companies men set up, and that they maintain their hold on the market better.

"Women lack the courage to take the road that until now only men have taken," she says.

"But once they have made up their minds they pursue their aims without swerving.

"Because they do not presume that *they will get ahead, women tend to look at* the risks involved in considerable detail."

Dr Iber-Schade does not believe that quotas should be set for the number of women in managerial positions.

The danger is that that would only increase the risk of inadequately qualified women getting jobs beyond their capabilities.

"If women are put in managerial positions they cannot handle then women will have done their own cause no good. If women are appointed to a job just because of their sex and not because of their abilities then the demand for equal opportunities will have been set back," Dr. Iber-Schade said.

If a quota system were applied to the number of women executives "should there not be a quota system for the number of male executives in the so-called women's professions?" Dr Iber-Schade maintains that even without a quota system there will be many more women in executive positions in trade and industry in the next few years.

She believes that the prospects for women in managerial positions have been made better by the low-birth-rate years and that fact women are getting better qualifications.

But these facts apart she sees as a main advantage the growing lack of managers who are team-oriented and who can handle people well.

Dr Iber-Schade appeals to young women to take advantage of these circumstances.

In Dr Iber-Schade's view women are better able "to deal with business partners, give sympathetic leadership to employees, and cooperate with other decision-makers."

It would be totally wrong for women to build their careers in imitation of the way men do things.

"They would be better advised to put their minds to something special," Dr Iber-Schade advised.

Also nothing but good can come of the fact that women are very active in the service industries that are expected to have the largest growth rate in future.

"The career chosen must give enjoyment. But if you don't have the talents to be an opera singer there are other jobs. The crucial factor is to be better qualified than is generally required in trade and industry for a specific job and where there are not typical attitudes to women."

Dr Iber-Schade gives this advice to girl graduates. Academic honours are not the beginning and ending, she says, but for women they are of particular significance, as she herself has found out with her own doctorate.

She is suspicious of legislation dealing with equal opportunities as applied in Britain and the United States. She says that women themselves must be more active in planning their own careers.

Essential for this is that women encourage each other and profit from discussions with sucessful women managers and executives.

In this respect she has in mind networking, which is being increasingly developed in the Federal Republic.

In addition businesswomen can push for the advancement of women in their own companies.

The head of every fifth company in the Federal Republic is a woman. Of the 300,000 firms with a women at the helm, 110,000 have sales of more than a million marks a year or employ more than five.

Company programmes to promote women, such as those drawn up by BASF, can be effective, but they are only of value in major companies.

The introduction of additional part-time jobs represents a great breakthough, according to Dr Iber-Schade.

Flexible working hours help qualified working women far more than the legislation for leave to bring up a child, that came into force on 1 January.

"Women in senior positions could not take advantage of this, not only because men would never take advantage of this benefit to the same extent as women, but also because a man at the same level would, during her period away from the company, ovetake her in the company's heirarchy."

Women would make greater efforts to get to managerial positions if the rewards were better. There is little left over when a working woman has made her contribution to the housekeeping and the children.



Dr Anne-Rose Iber-Schade . . . promotion must be on merit. (Photo: Poly-Press)

The Association has asked the Economic Affairs Ministry, to regard housekeeping from the point of view of a small business undertaking, so that it could be set off against tax liability.

So far officials have turned a deaf car to this proposal, Dr Iber-Schade admitted.

The problem of the dual burdens a working woman has to bear, career and home, cannot be dealt with by the state but must be resolved within the marriage or partnership.

"Neither the husband nor wife can pursue a career and manage a household at the same time," said Dr Iber-Schade.

Sabine Schuchart

(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 November 1986)

In 1954, a group of 31 women got together to form the Association of Businesswomen with the aim of representing professional women's interests. Today the organisation has 1,700 members in 14 state associations. Women heading companies with five or more employees or with annual sales exceeding DM1m are eligible. The association says all branches of trade and industry are represented pro rata.

Room at the top for the feminine touch

Angelika Pohlenz, chairwoman of the young managers and executives association, is a lady in a man's world.

Frau Pohlenz, 37, who studied law and works as a bank executive, wants to increase the feminine element in the country's largest organisation for young executives. She is convinced that there is much to be said for the feminine touch in executive suites. But only seven per cent of managers and executives are women.

"We are a male association, just as we have always been," says the woman who has been in charge for two years.

Frau Pohlenz thinks it is wrong for women just to battle for economic equal opportunity.

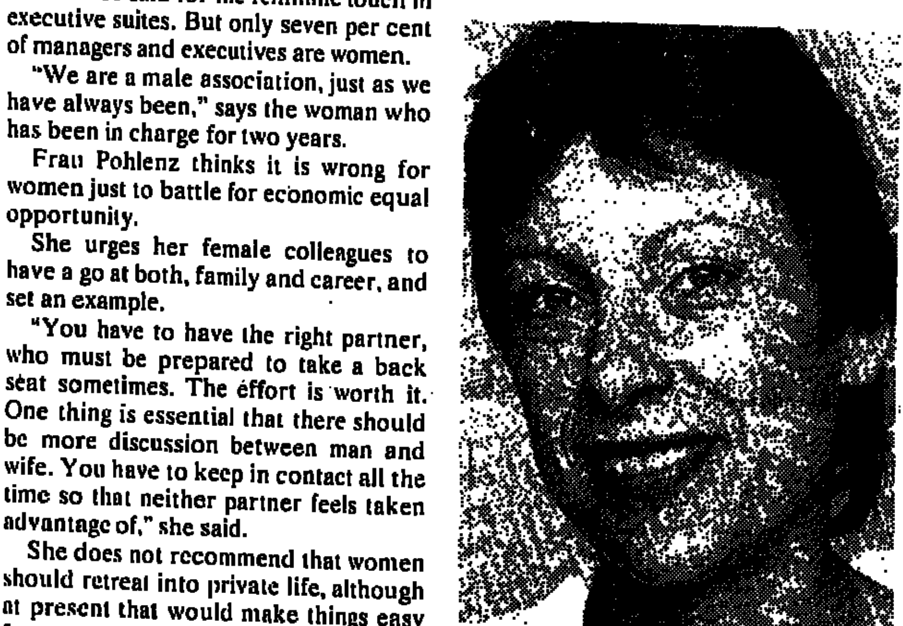
She urges her female colleagues to have a go at both, family and career, and set an example.

"You have to have the right partner, who must be prepared to take a back seat sometimes. The effort is worth it. One thing is essential that there should be more discussion between man and wife. You have to keep in contact all the time so that neither partner feels taken advantage of," she said.

She does not recommend that women should retreat into private life, although at present that would make things easy for a women.

Frau Pohlenz is not really involved in women's problems; she is more concerned the difficulties women encounter in their work lives. There is no question of her being dependent in her marriage.

"It is a difficult decision for a woman to make, interrupting her career because of her children. It would be far better for her to take a part-time job for which she is qualified while the children grow up," she said.



Angelika Pohlenz . . . combines family and career. (Photo: Jochim)

She has been given leave of absence from her bank so as to devote her energies to her honorary job as head of the association of young executives and managers.

She would have something to worry about, being away from the job for such a long time, if she did not take every opportunity of keeping in touch.

Each day she learns something new, makes new contacts and, as chairwoman of the association, she travels all over the country. She has covered 40,000 kilometres since she took up the post.

She has a woman in to look after her two-year-old daughter. Her husband does some of the house chores after work.

He is also a career man, at present head of the Wiesbaden city administration.

Angelika Pohlenz first became interested in the association for young managers and executives in 1980. She was elected to the management board of her local branch in 1982.

She then joined the state executive board and in 1985 she was elected national chairwoman and took up her job in the organisation's office in Bonn, housed in the same building as the West German Federation of Trade and Industry.

The organisation has 143 branches with about 8,000 members. These young executives and managers are between the age of 30 and 35. When executives reach the age of 40 they can no longer be regarded as belonging to the younger generation of trade and industry managers.

Those who are in business on their own account are just about in the majority — they make up 52 per cent of the membership of the organisation.

Angelika Pohlenz believes one of her main tasks is to promote communication between the various branches of the organisation.

This is achieved by the publication of the organisation's magazine, *Junioren-Spiegel*, and by the trips Angelika Poh-

Continued on page 9

■ INNOVATIONS

Staying one tent ahead of the next blizzard

A double-sided toothbrush (for inside and outside gums at the same time); a tent with a periscope (in case of an Antarctic blizzard); and a car shelf that always stays horizontal (so drinks don't spill) because, using gyro-compass principles, its base is set in a bed of oil; were among the inventions on display at the Nuremberg consumer goods fair.

One hundred and seventy inventors from 13 countries, including Finland, Israel, Egypt and Korea, displayed their brainwaves in the new ideas section.

The accent was on the practical: there were products designed to make life easier in the kitchen (coffee filter paper by the roll) and around the home (a self-watering flower pot).

There was a wide range of technical and environmental improvements (a system of recycling domestic bath- and washing-machine water).

Erich Häusser, head of the German Patent Office, in Munich, said he was impressed by the creativity.

Nuremberg had progressed from a market place for do-it-yourself buffs to a forum for freelance inventors. He saw no signs of the spirit of invention declining.

There had been 39,000 patents applied for in the first nine months of 1986, plus 26,609 registered trade marks and designs.

Inventors' worries were outlined by Peter Stepina of the Society for the Promotion of Invention in the Federal Republic:

- Inventors wanted to qualify for membership of the social security scheme for artists.
- They wanted an agreed scale of fees for patent lawyers.
- They also wanted a fund from which to bankroll legal action against "theft of intellectual property."

There were 250 new ideas on show. They included things like mobile sunshades and flower stands on wheels, coffee filter papers by the roll and a solar-powered garden shower unit.

The shower weighs 10kg (22lb) and can be dismantled and packed in a case to be taken on holiday.

There were rolling stone mats for sports, games and industry, especially where heavy goods have to be moved in bulk.

There were self-refrigerating boxes for beer and soft drinks. There was a recycling system for reusing water in both washing machines and bathtubs.

There was plastic matting claimed to insulate cellar walls and prevent dry rot. There were roof tiles designed as solar energy absorbers.

An engineer from nearby Erlangen exhibited a prototype solarmobile that is shortly to go into series production. It will cost about DM20,000, have a range of between 200 and 300km (125 and 200 miles) and cost 50 pfennigs per 100km to run.

The Erlangen designers are still on the lookout for partners in the motor industry, carmakers having so far failed to jump at the opportunity despite the solarmobile's 20th place (out of 92) in the 382km (240-mile) Tour de Sol.

The solarmobile's promoters are convinced it could reduce by 13 per cent the overall demand for imported oil in the Federal Republic of Germany — as well as reducing vehicle emission by up to 95 per cent.

Other new ideas on show at Nuremberg included solvents for removing chewing gum and adhesive labels, a windmill-powered battery charger, a disposable paper toilet brush that can be flushed down the toilet and a dog leash with a handle that doubles as a hand massage device.

One million patents a year are registered around the world in respect of roughly 300,000 inventions. The Munich Patent Office has over 23 million documents — 95 per cent of the world total — on file.

A Karlsruhe data bank has established the first computer link between Europe, the United States and Japan in the patent sector. It was featured at the Nuremberg fair.

The Berlin inventors' workshop featured *new ideas in environmental protection.*

Hubert Neumann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 5 November 1986)

Continued from page 8

lenz herself makes throughout the country, coordinating projects among the various branches so that many can profit from them.

The group projects which are particularly important concern the economy and schools.

She has also given considerable attention to privatisation and the question of setting out in business on one's own.

One project is aimed at pointing out to schoolboys and girls the conditions under which the free market economy operates. This is done by means of a sketch in which the young people take part.

There is also a project for looking into a company's operations to help young people decide about taking up an apprenticeship. All these are examples of the good relations the association tries to maintain with schools.

Angelika Pohlenz said that it was vital to keep in contact with the political world and trade and industry associations. She does this consistently.

As evidence of this a photo recently appeared in the association's magazine showing her in conversation with the president of the Federation of Trade and Industry, Otto Wolff von Amerongen, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Ingeborg Toth

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 8 November 1986)

Solar power from Spain is mooted for German grid

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Large amounts of electric power from Spanish solar power stations could be fed into the German grid in 15 to 20 years, say two scientists.

Energy experts Henry Kalb and Werner Vogel said solar power stations using mobile, computer-controlled reflectors, could work 24 hours a day to feed electric power generated from superheated steam into an international grid. From this grid it would be relayed to Germany

The two outlined their findings, which took nine years to compile, jointly with physicist Werner Buckel, president of the European Physics Association, in Düsseldorf.

Buckel described the report as a "convincing overall concept" that lacked only political support — a shortcoming it shared with other alternatives to conventional sources of primary energy.

The report is based on Spanish solar power stations mainly using existing technology and production capacities.

Kalb and Vogel say heat storage units could be used to enable solar power stations to run day and night. Previous surveys thought this was not possible.

When the weather in Spain is too poor to allow solar power stations to run at peak capacity auxiliary coal-fired power stations and emergency booster units are envisaged.

The system would thus ensure a non-stop supply of electric power, the two scientists say. Their findings were outlined and have yet to be published.

The capital outlay would, they say, be about four times the cost of building nuclear power stations. Cost estimates are said to be based on US solar research findings, scaled down to include a safety margin.

The cost of generating solar power would, in contrast, be only two and a half times as expensive as atomic energy, solar power using no fuel whatever.

So solar power would be about 50 per cent more expensive to generate than electricity from coal-fired power stations.

That, the authors say, would make the idea worth considering economically.

The cost would correspond to an oil price increase of 15 pfennigs per litre, or only half the 1979/80 increase, so it was clearly not a price the economy could not afford to pay.

Taking their argument one stage further, Kalb and Vogel say a 15-pfennig increase in the price of oil would thus correspond, in cost terms, to the cost of phasing out atomic energy.

They say their solar power system would have decisive advantages over hydrogen, a much-vaunted fuel of the future.

Energy loss in generating electric power from hydrogen amounted to nearly 50 per cent, whereas their scheme, for which the transmission techniques already existed, presented no such problems.

Solar power stations covering 1.8 per cent of the surface area of Spain would be sufficient to meet basic electric power requirements throughout Western Europe. Enough semi-arid land was available.

The survey takes into account the cost of buying the land and paying Spain an appropriate power levy. Political problems could arguably be solved by means of European agreements.

Opposing the construction of coal-fired power stations to replace atomic energy, Buckel criticised the Federal government for continuing to attach too little importance to energy alternatives.

Yet Bonn spent billions on, say, fast breeder technology although even its supporters admitted that it could only be seen as a temporary technique.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 November 1986)

■ FILMS

Hitler and the story of the men who ran the chemicals industry

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Bernhard Sinkel's four-part television film, *Väter und Söhne*, starring Burt Lancaster and Julie Christie, is being shown on West German television.

It is a family saga spanning three generations of the fictional Deutz family, from 1911 to 1947, the year of the Nuremberg trials. The family was portrayed as one of the founding interests of the I.G.Farben synthetics and dyes empire. (The I.G. stands for Interessengemeinschaft, meaning combine or pool.)

The film shows the family in its pursuit of influence, wealth and power.

It also shows how the family, in its struggle for economic survival, got mixed up in the guilt of the horror politics pursued by the Nazis.

It includes all the elements of cheap sensationalism. There is passion scorned, the dependence of young people on their elders in their professional and private lives, blackmail and accusations, false oaths and devout confessions.

The upper classes, the centre of interest, fervently keep to their attitudes, and viewers are seduced with an intimate view of these attitudes in tried and tested ways.

But it is not all cheap sensationalism. The film zooms in on the combine of chemicals manufacturers, the *Interessengemeinschaft*, that was formed in 1916, made up of the big names in the chemicals industry; there is a glimpse of a few months before the outbreak of the First World War, when a German chemist was able to combine nitrogen with water, that at a stroke made the country independent of saltpetre imported from Chile, essential for the manufacture of munitions, and the development of synthetics and petro-chemistry.

There is a reference to the hydrogenation of coal and the benzine pact with Hitler, that consolidated I.G. Farben's position.

These crucial dates in German history are the high points of the film. Fact is mixed with fiction.

The film's director and scriptwriter, Bernhard Sinkel was born in 1940, the grandson of one of the founder-members of I.G.Farben. His film covers a period of enormous technical, but also disastrous political development.

It deals fundamentally with the problem: how far can a scientist be held responsible for the consequences of what he achieves in research.

The book-of-the-film has appeared at the same time as the television screening, giving the text of each scene with stills from the film, publised by Verlag Athenäum, Frankfurt.

Günter Rohrbach, head of the Bavaria production company, takes up this point of responsibility in a foreword to the book. He writes: "How did it happen that these senior men in the chemicals industry, men who were respected the world over, fell into the clutches of Hitler's politics? What made these well-educated, upper class industrial leaders get deeper and deeper into the criminal aims of the Nazi regime? And what drove them to act as if nothing had happened when it was all over, when they were discredited for all time?"


Burt Lancaster, as grandpa Deutz, deals with an errant grandson (Georg Grönemeyer). (Photo: WDR)

Sinkel's film tries to answer these questions. It dwells on good intentions and how they are unintentionally reversed due to the circumstances.

One of the leading characters says earnestly: "I promise you, Luise, that these factories will only serve the good of mankind. We shall produce the basics for fertilizers."

He continued: "Can you imagine what that means? Hundreds of thousands of tons of wheat for bread and millions of tons of potatoes every year. Frederick the Great once said that the person who could grow two blades of grass where only one grew before would have done more for the people of the fatherland than all the politicians put together."

But Sinkel's moral position is that the saltpetre produced from synthetic ammoniac was used to produce munitions and thus, to prolong the war.

Finally the scientist, well played by Bruno Ganz, an odd but brilliant researcher, only complains that Hitler has destroyed his life's work.

In the dock he is a broken man who has never admitted how all his life he has suppressed matters of moment, lived a lie and closed his eyes to what was going on around him.

Without actually naming them the film looks toward men such as Carl Bosch, a Nobel Prize-winner, Fritz Haber, Carl Duisberg, Fritz ter Meer and Carl Krauch.

Sinkel says that his characters are not authentic but not entirely figments of his imagination.

The film has greatness in the destinies described and because of this the schoolbook quality of the handling of the material and the stereotyped dramatic action has to be accepted. It does not always live up to its lofty claims.

The Jewish banker (played by Martin Benrath) is such a case in point. His basic conviction is that if you do not get into trouble you will be all right. But his German national sense does not save him from ruin.

Destinies such as his hover on the periphery of the film. There is the man who is trampled to death by the Brown Shirts. There are people who suddenly disappear from sight never to be seen again.

It is impossible in this short review to do justice to all the actors and actresses in the film. Tina Engel, Katharina Thalbach, Herbert Grönemeyer and Christian Doermer deserve special mention, however.

It is also impossible to go into details about Götz Weidner's period décor and costumes and Dietrich Lohmann's sets.

The film is full of detail, rich in memories of the past and acute observation. All this does not deter from the aesthetic value of the film, however.

Bernhard Sinkel was commissioned by West German television interests to make the film and he devoted five years to the task. He has not spent his time in vain, although he is not in the same class as Visconti. He admits to having modelled his work on Visconti. *Väter und Söhne* is not a film about the decline of patriachal absolutism, as portrayed with a "that's it and no answering back" style by Burt Lancaster.

He had his rules for doing business: think out the product, manufacture it and then sell it. One product after the next, the one better than the previous one.

As soon as the sons are at the head of the business principles go by the board. But these sons have sons, and they eventually force their fathers out, in a kindly way without any self-righteousness.

I.G. Farben established a camp next to Auschwitz, using forced labour, recruited from Auschwitz. More than 25,000 are estimated to have died in the chemical manufacturers' camp.

This compels one son to speak out against his father in the dock. He said: "The true is that we have made ourselves guilty. So I'll tell everything of what I saw and what I heard. The only way our guilt can be exculpated is to look with eyes wide open on what we have done ... Our victims, all those dead, demand not vengeance. They ask for something quite different. They ask for our grief."

The film is centred on this point and it is from this standpoint that the cheap sensationalism is created.

The significance of the film emerges towards its end. The Munich Institute for Contemporary History and the association of the victims of Nazi persecution have both commended its historical veracity.

But other contemporary historians see things differently. They question whether it was the millions supplied by German industry that brought Hitler to power or whether it was the millions of dissatisfied and embittered people, fearful that they would be down-graded in society.

But no-one is prepared to confess that public interest in historical events can only be aroused by making a detour into history and being sensational.

Hans-Dieter Seidel

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 November 1986)

■ THE ARTS

Mary Wigman, a dancer who tip-toed around the rules

Mary Wigman, who died in 1973 at the age of 87, pioneered an era in dancing. This article was written for *Die Welt* by Klaus Geitel, who knew Frau Wigman.

Marie Wiegmann was 34 before she dared dance in public — an age when many are thinking of hanging up their pumps and doing something easier.

The first reactions were of ridicule and scorn, but she went on to change her name — to Wigman — and to blaze a pioneering trail in the world of dance.

Marie Wiegmann was born 100 years ago the daughter of a wealthy businessman. It did not enter anyone's mind that she would turn to dancing and indeed, by the time she started to realise where her talents lay, even experts thought her efforts were misplaced.

Her passion for dancing began when, already a young adult, she saw the Wiesenthal sisters dance in Berlin. They suggested kindly that she was already too old to start a dancing career. But if she was not to be shaken, she should first go to Vienna, home of the sisters, and try a few cabaret dance numbers.

She was determined.

She went on to create an new concept of dance. She went to America and became known as the high priestess of a new dance called "German dance".

A Wigman school was opened in New York. At her Dresden school she taught *hundreds* of male and female dancers...

She stimulated a new enthusiasm for dancing. Thousands of amateurs took to it.

Just as Anna Pavlova was the star of ballet Mary Wigman was the standard-bearer of the New Dance.

A joke of the time went like this: When the Lord created Pavlova he said to her: "Thou shalt dance," and she danced. When the Lord created Mary Wigman he said, "Thou shalt not dance," but she did.

That describes her accurately. She danced despite everything. She danced down every protest.

The background to her desire to dance was fairly shocking.

As a dutiful daughter, but contrary to her better judgment, she got engaged to be married. At the height of the engagement celebration people smilingly suggested that the couple would like to be alone for a while.

As soon as they were alone her fiancé suddenly fell down and began thrashing about in front of her. He was having an epileptic fit.

The unfortunate young man was taken away. Young Marie, pacing up and down, was shocked. Suddenly she began to take pleasure in her up and down movement as she paced back and forth. She turned the break-down, the gestures of despair, the wailing into movement. It consoled her.

Mary Wigman was really born at that moment. She herself told me this.

I saw her farewell performance in Berlin in 1942, at the Berlin Volksbühne now on the Luxemburgplatz. I can still remember the performance clearly.

The theatre was certainly not booked out. I was able to buy a ticket at the box office without any trouble. The programme included Wigman dancing as Brunhild and Niobe. I was 17 and she overwhelmed me with her sombre heroism. Mary Wigman danced the parts of heros in the minor key.

Long ago I saw Harald Kreutzberg dance his amusing miniatures. I saw Palucca's powerful dancing, full of vitality.

In Mary Wigman's performance there was no trace of the one or the other. Her solos were absolute solos in every sense. They were solo performances of total solitude. She seemed sunk deeply into herself. She did not radiate the optimism expected by the state.

She was not narcisstic in her dancing, although her mentality was such that she could have been so. She decline the temptation.

Miss Mary was trained at the Jacques Dalcroce Institute in Dresden to be a gymnastics instructor.

She met Rudolf von Laban, the man who seductively experimented with the dance, an ideologist, philosopher and a sect founder.

On the Monte Verità in Ascona Mary Wigman sorted herself out under Laban's direction. Laban was her teacher, patron, friend and lover.

This passionate association explains the later extremely passionate disputes that took place among the members of the Free Dance movement.

The dance was released from all the unshakable rules, that beset ballet.

Striving for unconditional emotional expression Free Dance revolted against the academic rules, prescribed steps and body positions.

Every individual dance set its own rules. Every dance carried its own artistic truth within itself.

Free Dance, with its passion for improvision and disobedience of all external rules, leapt out of the charm of balletic forms with their canons developed over centuries, a bastion created for eternity of the same foot movements and body positions.

Dancing to rules was out. Dance was to be a vehicle for total expression, distinctive individuality.

Mary Wigman's work was the supreme fulfilment of this.

From the very beginning she was everything, dancer, choreographer, teacher and pioneer.

Right away a whole group of major dancing talents emerged from her dance school in Dresden: Palucca, Yvonne Georgi, Kreutzberg and Max Terpis.

Between 1920 and 1930 Free Dance was established, the revolt institutionalised, the protest tamed. That was probably the beginning of the end.

Free Dance swiftly found the energies to create sectarians, but not dance groups. In the first place the appropriate cash was not forthcoming. State subsidies rarely came to the rescue. Free Dance remained the dancing of the great loners. They trained themselves within their own creativity. There were thousands of soloists.

It was unable to come to terms with mass movements. The nazis declared Mary Wigman's work as closely related to Bolshevism. She was regarded with mistrust and her Dresden school was eventually closed.


She began too old (they said) ... Mary Wigman (Photo: Ullstein)

After the war she settled in West Berlin and continued to work there.

The renaissance of ballet seemed to have made Free Dance a thing of the past.

But in 1973, the year Mary Wigman died, Pina Bausch set up her dance theatre in Wuppertal.

Mary Wigman's independence and the basics of her dance aesthetics are more alive today than any time since the 1930s.

Klaus Geitel

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 November 1986)

The tenor with image of a tennis player

Tenor Rudolf Schock has died from heart disease at his home in Düren, near Cologne, aged 71.

He was active to the end. Just before his death he sang in a nearby hall. He produced new LPs, hiked, played sport and enjoyed visiting singing clubs, which he regarded as his musical home.

In 1969 he suffered a heart attack. Tenaciously, with discipline and determination he got over it astonishingly quickly.

Rudolf Schock was born in Duisburg. His father was a port worker. In the 1950s he followed in the footsteps of the tenor he admired so much, Richard Tauber.

He sang everything and for everyone: one day at the Salzburg Festival, the next in a film with Hans Moser, the next day in a television show, then an operetta.

He defied pigeon-holing just as much as a defied conventions. He sang Stolzing in Wieland Wagner's Bayreuth production of *Die Meistersinger von Nüremberg*, in Salzburg Bacchus in Richard Strauss' *Ariadne auf Naxos*, and in London Rudolfo in *Bohème*. He had no time for elitist art and he used the media to the full.

Rudolf Schock was the troubadour of the Economic Miracle, the top C tenor of the 1950s and 1960s, the singer in an elegant dinner jacket with the public image of a tennis-playing and skiing sportsman.

No singer has been as popular as he was since Slezak and Tauber.

His films, *Du bist die Welt für mich*, *Schön ist die Welt* and König der Manege (in which Schock did the acrobatic scenes himself), the operetta *Gräfin Mariza* and *Das große Wunschkonzert* were continuously successful.

Der fröhliche Wanderer paid homage to his hobby, hiking.

Rudolf Schock was a rarity. He had a powerful, splendid tenor voice that basically had a very German timbre to it. He had also developed a wonderful technique that continuously astonished.


In the footsteps of Richard Tauber... Rudolf Schock (Photo: Archives)

His manner was unassuming, friendly but disciplined. He never denied his humble beginnings in the Ruhr. His mother worked in the cloakroom at the Duisburg theatre and she was able to manoeuvre him into the choir.

Schock was the tenor who had no affairs. His disciplined day — tennis early in the morning, rehearsal and then performance — did not give him time for them.

His Parsifal image of the happily married man with two daughters did a lot to enhance his popularity, without his realising it.

In the best meaning of the word he was naive. He was warm-hearted and a good friend. He was disciplined and modest in his needs.

His biography, published last year when he was 70, entitled *Ach, ich habe in meinem Herz*, reveals his sincerity, irony about himself and his realism.

In his book he tells how he trained to be a hairdresser. When he was 22 he got his first engagement in Brunswick after singing in the choir in Bayreuth; how he went through the war on the eastern front; how his career gained in pace in Hanover. He told of singing in Berlin in 1946 and how, singing Mozart in Salzburg in 1948 he was eventually discovered.

His voice could not be pigeon-holed. It could be soft and lyrical, the youthful enthusiasm of Tamino in *Zauberflöte* and with the emotional qualities required for Mozart's Idemeneo.

It could be dramatic in such roles as Don José in *Carmen*, Carvaradossi in *Tosca*, or as Hoffmann and Stolzing.

His voice had the mellifiousness for Lehár songs and agility for lieder by Schubert, Brahms and Hugo Wolf.

No matter whether he was singing a Wanderlied or Lohengrin, Manrico in *Il Trovatore*, or Ercole in Ralf Liebermann's *Penelope* that was premièred in Salzburg, behind the perfectly formed voice, there was a personality, a top artist, a man with feeling.

One of his talents was to project himself. The fascination for him was partly founded in this talent.

He was a singer who, slim and dinner-jacketed, worked doggedly and unremittingly. He was the successor to Tauber, Slezak and Völker. He was the reigning German tenor of the middle years of this century.

Karl Schumann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 November 1986)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Counting the cost as the Rhine runs red with chemicals

A chemical industry advertisement claimed in German newspaper that water from chemicals works is usually pumped back cleaner than it was taken out.

The advertising campaign coincided with the second wave of toxic pollution that swept down the Rhine from the Basle area, on the border between Switzerland, France and Germany.

The second wave? It may have been the third. Water used to put out the warehouse fire at Sandoz, the Basle chemicals manufacturers, was one source of pollution.

Another was 400 litres of a highly toxic substance used by Ciba-Geigy, also of Basle, to make pesticides.

This all made a mockery of the advertising campaign slogan, "Nature is chemistry, chemistry is life, life is responsibility".

However, the advertising was placed by the German chemical industry, not the Swiss, and German companies are said by experts not to be as slipshod as Sandoz seems to have been.

The Sandoz warehouse gutted by fire on 1 November was originally built to store technical equipment but has served since 1977 as a depot for raw materials used in the manufacture of insecticides, herbicides and fertilisers.

The finished products were also stored there, as were additives used in processing cotton, man-made fibre, paper and leather.

Over 1,200 tonnes of chemicals was stockpiled when the fire broke out, including 820 tonnes of phosphoric acid ester, similar in effect to nerve gas, and 12 tonnes of highly toxic organic mercury compounds.

Four hundred tonnes went up in smoke. People in Basle can count themselves lucky that fairly small quantities of the toxic substances were released into the air and that those which were were released at such high temperatures that the toxins drifted straight to higher altitudes.

The toxic gases would have been less likely to waft away if the sodium and phosgene stored in adjoining warehouses had been set alight or compounded with the water used to douse the flames.

Phosgene was a gas that helped to kill 2,000 people and ruin the health of hundreds of thousands in Bhopal, India, just over two years ago.

The Basle conflagration must have been appalling. Spokesmen for the German chemical industry shook their heads in disbelief after touring the site.

The safety precautions seem to have left much to be desired. Why should a member of the genetal public have to install a sump as a safety precaution in case a 1,000-litre oil tank leaks when there is no such provision at an industrial storage facility for thousands of tonnes of toxic substances?

A sprinkler system that isn't plumbed into the water mains is more what we have come to expect of an abysmally managed socialist factory than of a well-known Swiss chemical manufacturer.

In the circumstances it was hardly surprising that a week after the fire tonnes of chemically polluted water leaked into the Rhine again from a broken drainpipe.

At least 30 tonnes of toxic substances are estimated to have found their way into the river after the blaze in water used by the fire brigade.

This chemical time-bomb killed virtually every living creature in the upper reaches of the Rhine in the days that followed.

They included at least 150,000 eels, putting paid to several years of efforts to restock the river in this section.

The eels were joined by microscopic creatures such as insect larvae, crabs and water fleas that form the staple diet of fish.

Between Basle and Karlsruhe the Rhine seems to be stone-dead. Further downstream its biological balance is seriously upset.

Local authorities have strongly advised people not to allow children and dogs to play on the banks of the river. Waterworks have temporarily stopped drawing water from the river and are sticking to ground water for a while.

People in Unkel and Bad Hönningen, where all tapwater is filtered from the banks of the Rhine, had at one stage to fetch water by the pail from tankers.

Even Baden-Württemberg Environment Minister Gerhard Weiser, who initially took care not to overreact to the catastrophe, grew steadily more incensed, especially when chemicals were identified in the Rhine that could not have resulted from the blaze.

Had they been pumped into the river by other firms keen to benefit from the finger of blame pointed at Sandoz in Basle?

Federal Environment Minister Walter Wallmann conferred with chemical industry representatives in Bonn on improved industrial safety precautions and comprehensive official notification of products, stockpiles and storage facilities.

Research chemists who analysed samples of polluted Rhine water say not all substances found in the water and sludge have been identified.

"Samples contain more than we initially assumed," says Wolfgang Kühn of

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Karlsruhe University's Engler-Bunte Institute. The fire may have sired new and dangerous substances.

Staff at the institute, which carries out laboratory tests for Federal and *Land* government authorities, are accordingly checking samples for substances other than those specified by Sandoz.

Rhine water samples have so far revealed high insecticide counts and only small traces of mercury compounds.

They were the result of a mercury-based substance used to treat seed grain but banned in the Federal Republic of Germany and other industrialised countries since the 1960s when thousands died of brain and kidney damage in Iraq after dealers had sold seed as foodgrain.

As treating seed in this way is banned in Europe, research laboratories have not checked samples for traces of this substance in recent years.

"We don't know," says Peter N. Seng, head of the Cologne hygiene institute, "how organic mercury compounds behave in the soil, how stable they are, how they travel and how they may be transformed by bacteria into even more dangerous substances." Mercury compounds have been found to mix with impurities and settle in the sludge, with fatal consequences especially for eels that live in riverbed sludge, resistant or not, and for micro-organisms in the sediment. Further analysis is needed to show whether insecticides alone would have wreaked such havoc. Given toxic food in their food cycle and natural habitat, it is surprising that so few fish died. The explanation seems to be that fish eat less in the cold season and prefer to stay in quiet backwaters.



Chemicals are useful, sometimes . . . dead fish from the Rhine. (Photo: dpa)

Even low concentrations of mercury, which is a long-term toxin, are ecologically far more harmful than high counts of soluble insecticide.

Insecticides can be diluted up to 100fold as they head downstream. Organic mercury compounds, which like all heavy metals are stable, find their way into the sediment, doing the river more long-term damage than larger amounts of soluble toxin.

Past mercury levels in Rhine sludge declined strikingly between 1971 and 1982, says Heidelberg sediment research scientist Professor German Müller. At the end of October, barely a week before the Sandoz catastrophe, Professor Müller was awarded the Philip Morris research prize in recognition of his work in this sector.

He was also honoured for developing a fairly simple procedure by which cadmium in particular can be extracted from dredger sludge. His award now has a hollow ring.

The consequences of the latest mercury pollution of the Rhine are particularly serious for drinking water supplies from the river.

Many wells that draw water filtered from the river have been shut down temporarily to ensure that no polluted water finds its way into the water people drink. The aim is also to reverse the flow of water between the Rhine and the water table.

Ground water is to flow into the Rhine (rather than vice-versa) to make sure no toxins are permanently lodged in the soil strata through which river water is filtered.

Political parties have been quick to seize on the Basle chemical pollution catastrophe as a campaign issue.

SPD Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau has called on the Bonn government to arrive at far-reaching conclusions for the German chemical industry.

FDP environment spokesman Gerhart Baum has rapped Bonn Environment Minister Walter Wallmann for Swiss tardiness in relaying information.

Herr Wallmann has blamed Hesse Environment Minister Joschka Fischer of the Greens for delay in convening a session of the German commission on Rhine pollution.

Herr Fischer has called on all concerned to embark on a new policy toward the chemical industry.

Attention must be paid both to coping with the present catastrophe and to precautions aimed at preventing future havoc.

Sandoz are unlikely to be the only company guilty of negligence and slipshod safety precautions in connection with the ban on stockpiling certain substances.

In Basle there certainly seem to have been lapses in environmental protection — despite the much-vaunted work of Pro Rheno, an organisation that has helped to keep the Rhine clean since 1975.

Its patrons include the two Basle cantons and three chemical giants Ciba-Geigy, Hoffmann-La Roche and Sandoz.

A risk analysis undertaken five years ago by the Zürich insurance group is said to have noted the lack of adequate firefighting equipment in the chemical warehouses at Sandoz.

The report is also said to have pointed out that catchment basins were too small to retain toxic water used in firefighting should a blaze occur.

The insurance company is said by the Greens in the Bonn Bundestag, to whom the report has been leaked, to have refused to underwrite a third-party policy for the Sandoz works.

Marc Moret, Sandoz administrative board chairman, has admitted in a newspaper interview where the blame lay.

As a result of past accidents, he said, attention had been concentrated on safety precautions in production rather than development and storage.

Both were sectors in which a backlog of safety precautions remained to be put into effect.

That is nothing new. Harrisburg proved the prevalence of this lopsided view in the atomic energy industry too.

Emphasis was too often concentrated on the worst case operational accident, involving a breakdown of all cooling systems, rather than on the possibility of catastrophes occurring by other, indirect means.

The Rhenish worst case accident, as the Munich daily *Süddeutsche Zeitung* dubbed the Basle mishap, has proved the prevalence of this misguided approach.

So all future efforts to improve safety precautions would do well to bear safety in supposedly minor theatres in mind.

Gottfried Eggerbauer
/Michael Globig
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 14 November 1986)

■ MEDICINE

Don't make Aids notifiable, give more research cash, government urged

Aids should not be made a notifiable disease, it was agreed at a congress on the disease in Berlin.

Delegates, who included research scientists, politicians and assistance groups, disagreed on several points, but there was universal rejection of notification.

It was the biggest meeting in West Germany to deal with the acquired immune deficiency syndrome. Social and welfare factors were dealt with rather than medical factors.

The meeting agreed that:

- It is not true, as is still sometimes said, that Aids is much less important than diseases like cancer, rheumatism or cardiac and circulatory conditions and that it gets excessive publicity;
- Aids can affect anyone despite the fact that some groups are more susceptible than others;
- Government research grants need to be heavily increased; and
- The public must be informed much more intensively and in much plainer language about the disease.

About 700 people in West Germany at the end of October had been diagnosed as incurable Aids victims.

But hundreds of thousands are Aids-positive, or have developed antibodies to HIV, the human immunodeficiency virus.

No-one knows how many Aids-positive people will go on to get the disease, but current estimates start at 40 per cent.



Given the incubation period, it will be a few years before we know the full extent, but Aids will then be a widespread disease — and one for which there is as yet no effective treatment, let alone a cure.

The resultant financial and welfare problems will be as dramatic as the medical considerations.

There may be groups more likely to contract the disease than others, such as homosexuals and drug addicts, but Aids does not just affect marginal groups. It can affect anyone.

The percentage of victims and carriers of the virus who are not members of risk groups and seem to have contracted the disease via heterosexual intercourse has so far been small.

It is now growing fast. In the United States it has doubled (from two to four per cent) in the last six months.

In some areas of the United States the known risk factors have been ruled out for one Aids victim in three. So publicity campaigns must now be aimed at the population as a whole.

Government Aids research grants will need to be increased substantially.

Virologists have made headway on Aids at unprecedented speed but there is unlikely to be either a vaccine or an effective method of treatment in the foreseeable future.

Clinical research in the Federal Republic was inadequate, the 800 people at the Berlin congress agreed. There were serious welfare and sex research shortcomings too.

The public must be informed more intensively, at much greater expense and in plainer terms so as to have some effect in the sensitive sector of private behaviour.

Berlin Health Senator Ulf Fink has launched a large-scale publicity campaign to popularise the use of condoms. It includes cinema and poster advertising, brochures and telephone answering services.

Given the health hazard Aids poses, he feels there must be limits to the heed that can be paid to public sensitivities.

Federal Health Minister Rita Süssmuth concedes that publications her Ministry has issued have so far been caution itself. She plans to follow Berlin's example and hopes other *Länder* will lend her every support.

Mandatory measures tend to have the opposite effect to what is intended. One of the most important points made in Berlin was the congress's uniform rejection of compulsory Aids registration.

The success of efforts to contain the disease cannot be measured in terms of the number of new cases reported in the years ahead.

Tomorrow's Aids victims are already infected. All that measures can hope to achieve is to stop the disease from spreading further.

An initial indication of the effect safer sex campaigns have had, at least among risk groups, is that other sexually transmitted diseases seem to be on the decline.

Compulsory registration would destroy carefully nurtured confidence in government and non-government organisations that provide advice and assistance.

Patients would simply drop out, refusing help and heightening the risk of spreading the disease.

Patients actually suffering from Aids are fairly unlikely to infect others. Aids-positive patients are another matter.

There is no treatment for them as carriers of the virus, and certainly no prophylaxis, or preventive treatment. The safer sex code applies to all.

In theory, as a lawyer told the congress, the Federal Epidemic Diseases Act entitled the government to undertake mandatory measures ranging from quarantine to career bans.

Yet such measures would be pointless in that social contacts between Aids-positive virus carriers and the general public are harmless.

Virus carriers can work in a restaurant or bar; patrons will run no risk of infection by merely being served food and drink by them.

Quite apart from moral considerations, even compulsory tests and internment of Aids-positive patients would be impracticable. It would mean interning hundreds of thousands of people for life.

That is not to say that no provisions of the Federal Epidemic Diseases Act will ever be used in connection with Aids. So views differed in Berlin on the HIV antibody test.

While politicians were keen to see the test retained as a voluntary option, spokesmen for Aids groups were strongly opposed to it.

Some even called for anti-discrimination legislation.

Justin Westhoff
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 November 1986)

Tests show there's more to sleep than meets the eye

Munich psychiatrists say man isn't just a nocturnal sleeper; our natural rhythm includes a nap at lunchtime and several other times of the day — at roughly four-hour intervals.

Sleep research at the Max Planck Psychiatry Institute in the Bavarian capital is claimed to have proved that man is a catnapper.

Unlike the Munich sleep researchers, Max Planck ethologists working in underground laboratories at the "sleep bunker" in Erling, Upper Bavaria, have concentrated on probing nocturnal sleep patterns.

Yet sleeping only at night is a far cry from the sleep habits of primitive peoples, of people who live in warmer climates and, above all, of animals; the lion, for instance, sleeps 16 hours a day.

In latest subterranean experiments at Erling the 1986 European Sleep Research Association award-winners Jürgen Zülkes and Scott Campbell have proved the existence of a variety of sleep rhythms.

In addition to a roughly daily, day-and-night rhythm there are shorter breaks, periods of heightened readiness to sleep, at intervals throughout the day.

They are less marked than the desire to get a good night's sleep, but electroencephalograms and readings of eye movements, body temperatures and other activity patterns prove the existence of further periods when the body could take a rest.

Typical nap times are 9 a.m., 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. So four-hour intervals seem the daytime rule, with a midday nap being particularly marked — and as a rule artificially, yet instinctively, overcome by working or drinking a cup of coffee to bridge the gap.

Unlike nocturnal sleep, which is accompanied by minimum body temperature, the midday nap occurs just before body temperature reaches its daily peak.

Yet structurally, including dream phases, it otherwise resembles the nocturnal variety.

Further sleep research is planned to show whether a midday nap boosts well-being and afternoon work efficiency.

Ought shift work, which runs counter to man's daily rhythm in any case, not at least to be arranged so as to make best possible use of daytime sleep requirements?

The Munich psychiatrists now also feel they are coming closer to establishing and identifying links between sleep upsets and states of mental depression.

Taking daytime sleep phases into account, depression may be due to deep-seated chrono-biological disturbances.

Karl Stankiewitz
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 November 1986)

■ HORIZONS

A city's Angel of Mercy gives new hope to the homeless

For the past 20 months, a middle-aged, middle-class woman called Dörte Klages has been spending her time finding accommodation and sometimes work as well for the city's tramps.

She has helped 100 of them since a bitterly cold January night in 1985 when she came across a group of them getting ready to bed down in the open.

The effect was electric. She was prompted to act. And she says she has discovered that tramps are not at all like the conventional view of them.

It is not hard to see what the official opinion is. It has been openly enough articulated at, for example, the convention of municipal authorities.

It is that tramps beg and bully, damage property, assault people, and are not shy about performing the natural functions in public. They seek the anonymity of the town but they do not belong to the town.

In contrast, Frau Klages, 55, says that when they have been found a place to stay, they wash and shave and, without any prompting, take greater care of their clothes.

They keep their rooms clean and even decorate them with flowers. She says it is not unusual for them to put a tablecloth on the table and try and make things homely.

How is it that this woman succeeds; a woman with no specialised knowledge of social work? How does she just get tramps off the street and into a room?

To find out, I accompanied her one Friday. I found a corner in her car, packed between old lamps and chairs, used bed clothes and clothing.

We first went to a run-down hotel that now just rented out rooms. In one of the former hotel rooms we met three men who used to haunt Heidelberg's streets and city squares — a cat and a dog had also found a home in the room.

A friendly, disabled woman tramp was also there. The continuous fight for a livelihood had left its mark on her face. She greeted us warmly, sincerely and respectfully, including me, the stranger.



Frau Klages manages the social and unemployment benefits these people have. She has opened a savings account — but there is only ever the minimum in it. *On Fridays she pays out cash for the weekend* — 30 marks. She does not ask for a receipt. She operates on trust and until now has not been disappointed.

The conversation deals with day to day matters such as where can dust bags for the vacuum cleaner be bought. "We have emptied the one we have often, but it wont work any more," one said.

They ask questions about whether anyone else needs accommodation and would settle down in the house with them.

When we left and were out on the street, she said to me: "I hope you noticed the flowers in the window?"That is one of her typical remarks. Most other people would have noticed that the room was fairly untidy. She sees the progress made although there are set-backs sometimes. One night one of them got drunk and threw the washing machine through the window, ruining it.

We drove on across Heidelberg, visiting some who lived alone and some who lived together in an apartment (sometimes well-paid social workers try to cut the scanty social benefit because they have communal living expenses).

Eventually we came to an apartment whose occupants would disprove all the social worker textbooks.

Dörte Klages expressed interest in the apartment because it was empty and she had some homeless people who could use it. What did she do?

She drove to the railway station where the tramps congregate and asked who wanted a place to live.

A trained social worker would have been unsure if this was the way to do things. He would say that an investigation would have to be undertaken firstly to see if the tramps could settle down with one another.

People, commonly called tramps but in officialese regarded as "of no fixed abode," are socially difficult people it is true and it is a problem getting them to live together.

Dörte Klages had brought sour dough in a glass jar. The men wanted to bake bread.

Here she also gave out money for the weekend and they talked about day to day problems, questions of jobs and money.

Here again there was the same question about vacuum cleaner dust bags. Freddy, quite a character, had bought with his first cash a white suit and white shoes. He told how he turned up to show his old mates and the railway police like a new person. But the trousers needed to be shortened.

Dörte Klages packed the trousers away as well as a jacket whose pockets needed to be repaired.

She also took an apartment key with her because a new person would be moving in. The well dressed man, who had worked "for the benefit of the public" at the cemetery for years, wanted a duplicate.

That is the advantage Dörte Klages and her few helpers have. They get down to it. They can be talked to day in, day out.

They go with the tramps to government offices and remind the officials of their duties. There are enough problems. The endless topic is the tiresome one about money. If, for instance, a man has a chance of a job, he needs a place to live. He needs money for the rent and the deposit, for working clothes, utensils for the household and a monthly ticket for transport to and from work. It takes the social welfare office weeks to arrange all this (with

Continued on page 15

Continued from page 7

from the other. Hundreds of Zündapp staff, 235 of them having been with the company for over 25 years, were less lucky.

They were sacked, many virtually certain never to find a job again, and can be excused for taking a more jaundiced view than they may use to have done about entrepreneurial risk and responsibility and about the Zündapp "family."

This aspect does not go unmentioned in the Berlin exhibition, which does more than just feature a comprehensive range of Zündapp products, including a grain mill, various sewing machines and an aero engine.

It also documents the history of products and production, of the accomplishments and possible failure of entrepreneurial spirit, of the everyday life of the staff and of Zündapp design, motor sport and advertising.

Visitors are clearly told that Zündapp was shut down and sold while still a fully functioning firm and is now staging a no less functioning comeback in far-off China.

Ulrich Kubisch

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 9 November 1986)

A dab hand with a spanner . . . Maria Ruoff gives it the gun. (Photo: Manfred Haimerl/PM)

Queen of the Road, 83, still rides 48-year-old motorcycle

Maria Ruoff passed her motorcycle driving test on 2 August 1938. She went straight out and bought herself a 98cc DKW bike for 420 Reichsmarks.

Forty eight years later at the age of 83, she is still riding the same machine.

She lives in the remote Bavarian town of Wattersdorf and her fame has spread. The American illustrated *National Enquirer* described her as the Queen of the Road. A Japanese film-team has been up to visit her.

She repairs her veteran machine herself. She is just as capable of replacing a carburettor as she is of putting in spark plugs. But she doesn't do any welding. For years she bought spare parts and stored them away to beat obsolescence.

"When you have ridden a bike as long as I have you get to know what is wrong with it. If I had to rely on others I would have been lost long ago," she said.

When the weather (she doesn't ride deep in winter, except if it is absolutely necessary) is fine and she has closed down her small grocery shop, she does not stay at home. She puts on her jacket and helmet, hauls her bike out of the shed and off she goes.

Everyone knows her in Wattersdorf and the environs, the little old lady grocer who rides a motor bike.

The man who drives a beer truck beeps his horn in greeting and a neighbour calls out after her.

Forty years ago riding a bike was not only a pleasure for Maria but also a job. She drove a midwife round the villages, mainly at night.

The midwife lived in the same block. She only needed to knock and shout and they were off.

She smiles when she recalls the night she was called out to go to Schmidham.

When she got to the village on her bike she asked the midwife where she wanted to go. The midwife answered: "It must be over there where the light is burning."

When they got to the farm house they met the farmer. They asked him where his wife was. He looked at them with surprise but pointed to the bedroom window.

"When we went into the house there was a baby in the kitchen, but it was ten days old," Maria said.

On another occasion when she had to go over a mountain on a winter's night she lost the midwife.

"I looked round but she wasn't there," she said. The midwife had fallen off and lay in the snow.

Maria waited a little while and asked: "What are you doing down there?"

Both of them often fell but they were never injured.

Riding a motor bike is one of her hobbies; playing cards is another. She plays with two men from Wattersdorf. They play for money but she never talks about the stakes.

A customer who wanted beer in a hurry and was knocking at the back door brought our chat to an end.

He went into the small shop with the empties and served himself. Maria stood behind the counter and worked out how much he had to pay.

She has been running the little grocery shop for the past 30 years. "But the shop is no longer profitable. People go where it is cheapest," she complained.

She sells mainly drinks, cigarettes and in summer ice cream. She is gradually giving up the grocery side of the business.

But the 83-year-old lady hangs on to the shop in the same way she hangs on to her bike. "I can chat to people," she said. She intends to run the shop as long as she can.

When she has resolved to do something it is very difficult for anyone to talk her out of it.

She does not care when her daughter shakes her head in despair because she has been playing cards until the early hours of the morning.

She does not intend to give up her motor bike rides either, "health permitting."

Martina Kaiser

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 1 November 1986)

■ BEHAVIOUR

Help for parents of children with drug problems

A woman described to a meeting of parents in Berlin a critical experience: she met a former classmate who told how successful her children had become and then asked, ever-so-nicely: "And what is your son doing?"

"He's a heroin addict. He's is jail," replied the woman. "When I got that out, I felt like a huge load had been taken from me," she told the meeting, comprising parents of children with drug problems.

The woman is now running one of several area groups for affected parents. She didn't want her name published. Nor did the three other group leaders who were prepared to talk.

All related the extent of family suffering caused by the problem. One woman told how she shrank back from contact with neighbours in spite of the sympathy they showed: "When they talk about their children and how they had passed their Abitur (university entrance exam) and generally how wonderful they are, I could cry."

At the beginning, all the women had to fight feelings of guilt and shame. Afterwards, they realised that protecting the family was essential as a positive counterbalance to the life of the addicted child.

Their experiences showed that younger sisters and brothers suffered when the family's life revolved round the addicted child. In extreme situations, the affected child had sometimes to be thrown out of the home. That was more easily said than done. It had to be made clear again and again that there were many places where people could go for both therapy and temporary accommodation.

Most of the people at the courses are mothers. They say, with resignation, that fathers generally only hear from their wives what has been discussed. Yet it was important that families stayed solid in these circumstances.

There were no patent recipes on ways to handle drug problems. The groups aim to give women back their self confidence. They revealed also — and this reduced the load considerably — that the whole world was not made up entirely of well-brought-up neighbours' children and that some other families did, in fact, have worse problems.

The classes emphasise that children using drugs should not be given money because it would only be spent on drugs.

This was not always easy to observe. One woman said: "Mothers always slip their children a little bit here and there."

Another said: "With daughters, it is more likely to be the father." And when children get no more from their parents, they go to their grandparents. The conclusion was that every bit of financial help only prolonged the addiction.

Mothers are advised to explain that their refusal to give children money is not because they do not love them but because they do.

However, the reality is that many parents have built up debt to hide their child's addiction.

Meetings are held twice a month. Anyone can come, anonymously if they want to, and although no one need say anything at their first meeting, experience shows that they generally do say quite a lot because it is, at last, a chance to get it off their chests.

So how do they come to the realisation that everything is not right with their child? They say it generally takes a while before they notice anything.

An important sign in every case was a change in the makeup of the circle of friends. Children became withdrawn, spoke less with their parents and showed a lack of drive. They tended to "hang round".

One woman said her son barricaded himself in the attic and "there was this strange smell, like joss-sticks".

A friend of her son had eventually admitted that hashish was being smoked.

"Before that I didn't even know what the word "kiffen" meant." (It is a slang term meaning to smoke marijuana, hashish or similar).

Parents become angry whenever they are told that soft drugs like marijuana and hashish are not serious. They say that this can only be said by outsiders who don't know, for example, what effects the consumption of hashish has on the personality.

One mother said: "It causes this terrible aggression. We have all experienced that." Sometimes, parents even came to fear their children. One woman was regularly beaten by her daughter.

Another said: "They come home at night with their clique and lock themselves in the loft or cellar and you can't get in."

One notable claim is that families where children are on these soft drugs are worse off than families where heroin is involved. The reasoning is that the deterioration is so marked with heroin addiction that the victim him- or herself realises before anyone else that something needs to be done.

About 120 parents have so far come to the Berlin talks. The great majority come from families that would be classed as "totally normal." Parents affected include doctors, judges, ministers of religion and even psychologists. The course heads believe any family can be affected. Causes are often impossible to find.

One said: "In our case it was overprotection — perhaps." Too much freedom was not good. Neither was too little. There was no patent rule or explanation.

Parents, the women agree, must have patience. On the wall of a room where meetings are held is a quotation from a Lebanese philosopher, Kahlil Gibran: "Your children are not your children. They are sons and daughters of the search for life itself. You can give them your love, but not your mind, because they have their own."

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 1 November 1986)

Chip gets chop

Women are more sceptical, more critical and more pragmatic about computers than men, says a joint study by a women's magazine, *Brigitte*, and the Hanover-based institute for women and society.

They found that women accept the computer as a usable article, a tool for work, but they want it to be kept out of their private life.

The survey authors, Uta Brandes and Christiane Schiersmann, also found that non-working women are more sceptical than working women.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 28 October 1986)

Continued from page 14

the help of the Catholic social services). But in most cases the money is needed immediately.

Frau Klages and her helpers not only do a lot of running about, they have also put money into the work.

She cuts through red-tape and presents officialdom with the problem of how to change-over and adjust to her ways. She increases the work-load considerably. It is no advantage to come from the upper echelons of society.

Frau Klages has the mayor on her side most of the time and she can discuss problems with the most senior officials in the social welfare service.

Her good relations with officials can be understood. She does the work of several social workers and from the city's point of view does something about the city's tramp problem that can sour the tourists' view of Heidelberg's romantic old quarter.

She has been successful because she has won the trust of people who have been treated as street curs all their lives. She helps without being condescending.

People are on the streets not from any wish of their own but out of need. They win back their self-respect from her.

People who are looked after one day end up giving a hand the next.

She has been successful because she is on the spot. If she and her husband and guests go out for the evening, it is possible that in front of a restaurant or a pub they meet a tramp, man or woman.

She sits down with them on a bench or a doorway and comes back for them later.

She needs more helpers. There are signs that she is getting over-worked. Recently she dozed off in the theatre.

From previous experience her success will arouse jealousy. Too often her work has disproved what officials and professional social workers believe.

For instance she has shown the folly of believing that tramps only need to settle down in winter. Eventually they go off to their old ways.

She has disproved the sceptical view so often expressed to her that what she does only gets anywhere if a person who is homeless is looked after by a social worker.

She has also disproved the view that people of no fixed abode must first be brought back into society via an institution before they can be let out at some future date into the wide, wide world.

Three days after my visit to Heidelberg I spoke to Frau Klages.

She had three rooms again and was looking for people without a home.

She had no idea that all over the country social workers complain that there is no accommodation available for tramps.

Ernst Klee

(Die Zeit, Bonn, 7 November 1986)

Spare the rod?

One German in four has been found by Bielefeld University sociologists to feel that "a spanking never did a child any harm."

This was one of the findings of two and a half years' work on violence in the family, and the final report is disturbing.

Fathers are often felt to be much readier than mothers to resort to violence against children, but the findings clearly show this is not the case.

Mothers, be they housewives-only or working mothers, are no less likely than fathers to let their hands slip.

Older surveys in the United States even came to the conclusion that mothers hit their children much more than fathers did.

Consciuosly or unconsciously, many parents verbally make light of violence to children, referring to it as a mere spanking or a box on the ears.

The Bielefeld sociologists have discovered a vicious circle. The more often and harder parents were hit as children, the likelier they are to mishandle their own children.

The more the family atmosphere is governed by quarrels, taunts and humiliations, the same applies, as it does in families beset by job or financial troubles.

Physical violence is by no means the only means of punishment. Others mentioned were:

- sending children to bed early (by 47 per cent);
- shouting at them (31 per cent);
- paying no attention to them for any length of time (28 per cent), and
- sending them to their room and not allowing them out (22 per cent).

All are responses the Bielefeld survey classifies as varieties of violence. Sexual abuse was not dealt with.

Family violence also stands for violence between husband and wife. Only 68 per cent of women and 76 per cent of men say thy have never been hit by their spouse.

How many wives have been forced by their husbands to have sexual intercourse? One woman in four is the victim of marital rape, says sociologist Dr Werner Habermehl.

Surprisingly, more women are forced to have sex against their will than are beaten by their men.

A number of hoary prejudices are dismissed by the survey's findings. Family violence occurs among rich and poor, educated and uneducated people.

Thirty- to 35-year-olds report violence twice as often as older people.

Violence occurs more frequently in the family than anywhere else. But when it becomes the rule rather than the exception, relationships almost always soon break up.

Wulf Petzoldt

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 18 October 1986)

Boxing on

People who watch television alone are the loneliest, reveals a survey by the Hamburg-based BAT leisure-research institute.

Respondents were asked in what situations they were lonely: 44 per cent said when they were alone in front of the television; 36 per cent when they were alone with a lot of people; and 35 per cent when no one else took part in their leisure activities.

The total comes to more than 100 per cent because some respondents were lonely in more than one situation.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 15 October 19[86])